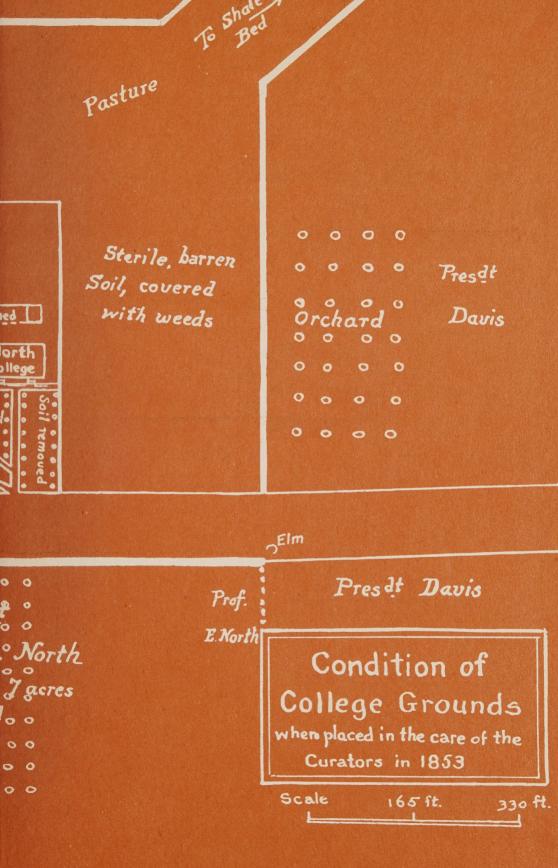
HAMILTON COLLEGE

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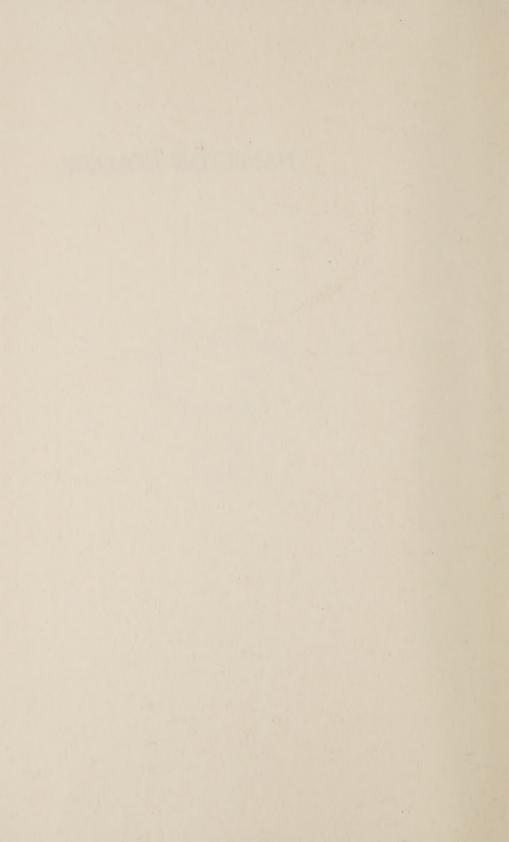
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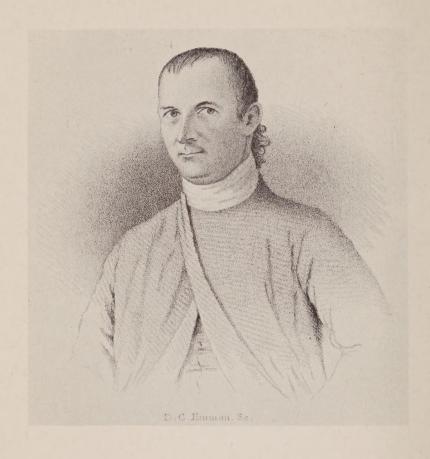


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SAMUEL KIRKLAND, 1741-1808, Missionary to the Iroquois Founder of the Hamilton-Oneida Academy, 1793.

HAMILTON COLLEGE

1812/1962

BY WALTER PILKINGTON



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HAMILTON COLLEGE 1812/1962



Foreword

Edward North, the man best qualified to write a history of Hamilton College, died in 1903. He knew the College intimately from his undergraduate days in the early 1840's to the turn of the century, but he consistently declined to record its development on the ground that the task would be "too sad." "Old Greek's" assiduity in preserving manuscripts and historical records supplied a wealth of raw materials which he was in a unique position to interpret, had he so wished. His notes on the historical occurrences at the College remain invaluable.

Joseph D. Ibbotson, scholar and bookman, followed North's example. His patient and imaginative collecting, combined with a faculty for enlisting the interest of alumni in ways great and small in the preservation of Hamiltoniana, nominated him for the unfulfilled role of historian. His manuscript notes are of great usefulness.

Among later generations of Hamilton men there have been many well qualified to write a historical account of the College. That Samuel Hopkins Adams, whose affection for the Hill was unsurpassed, was unable to accept the task is more than regrettable. The same pressures that inhibited Sam Adams have also barred other alumni from the work. Yet the story demanded a teller. The present writer, oppressed the while by Pope's dictum on the timidity of angels, is conscious of exposed flanks in this attempt to catch the spirit of the College between two boards.

Many people in the past years have most generously contributed their time and knowledge to this project. Strictures of space do not allow a full listing of their names. It can only

be said that but for their kindly efforts this account would never have been finished. To the following, however, I wish to acknowledge a special indebtedness: Edgar W. Couper, '20, Chancellor of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York; Richard W. Couper, '44, Administrative Vice-President of the College; David M. Ellis, '38, P. V. Rogers Professor of American History; Mrs. Thomas A. Evans of Clinton; Mrs. James Hawkins of Hyde Park, New York: Robert H. Hevenor, Director of Public Relations at the College; Philip C. Jessup, '18, Judge of the International Court of Justice; Wallace B. Johnson, '15, Secretary of the College: Frederick P. Lee, '15; Herbert S. Long, '39, Associate Professor of Greek; Robert Ward McEwen, President of the College; Mrs. Edward Wales Root; Frank E. Taylor, '38; and Winton Tolles, '28, Dean of the College. The tolerance of my colleagues in the Library passes understanding. The Antaean sense of humor of Miss C. Evelyn Buckley has been matched only by her nimble fingers and photographic memory. My wife, Dorothy Bidwell Pilkington, unlike Joseph Sieyès in every other respect, may well repeat his "J'ai vécu."

The Founder

"... Mr. Hamilton chearfully consents to be a Trustee of the said Seminary, and will afford it all the aid in his power..."

This line from a journal written early in 1793 opened the way for the college which nineteen years later was to be chartered by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, bearing the name of the nation's first Secretary of the Treasury.

The founder of Hamilton College, however, was the diarist himself, the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, dedicated missionary to the Six Nations of the Iroquois and more particularly to the Oneida tribe of Indians. Kirkland's talk with Alexander Hamilton, who was on the peak of his national influence and power, took place on January 8, 1793, in Philadelphia, the capital of the country, a long way from Kirkland's pioneer home in the Indian territory ninety miles west of Albany. The conversation had been shortly preceded by an equally encouraging interview with President George Washington on the same subject of an academy for white and Indian youths to be established on the western frontier in Clinton, New York. The two interviews represented, in the certainty of hindsight, the enduring culmination of Kirkland's endeavors among the Indians, a Christian mission which had started in 1764. In that year the twenty-three-yearold senior in the College of New Jersey, later Princeton, not lingering to receive his sheepskin with his classmates, had hastened into the Iroquois territories west of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers to proselytize the American aborigines. Of all Kirkland's enterprises, religious and secular, from

that time to his death in 1808, there has survived only the College, and that, ironically, named for a man whose contribution to the founding of the institution was indeed nominal.

Of the founder's early boyhood little is known, save what may be deduced from his being the tenth child of twelve sired by an impecunious country parson. Daniel, his father, who spelled his surname Kirtland, had been born in Saybrook, Connecticut, a descendant of a Scot who migrated from London to the New World in 1635. Samuel's father was graduated from Yale College in 1720 and thereafter studied theology. He was ordained on December 10, 1723, as the first pastor of the Congregational Church in the Northeast Parish of Norwich, Connecticut, a parish which had been named the Newent Society by the Connecticut General Assembly in October of the preceding year. The minister lived on sixty acres set aside "in the crotch of the rivers for the first minister who shall settle there." It was on this farm that Samuel Kirkland was born on December 1, 1741, and there he spent most of his childhood, always in straitened circumstances.

On January 4, 1753, when Samuel was twelve years old, his father was adjudged mentally deranged and dismissed by a council of his church. In the following year he regained his health sufficiently to move to Groton where he was installed as the minister of the First Church. After four years he was again dismissed, and returned with his family to Newent. Two years later, the unprosperous minister was arraigned before ecclesiastical authority for preaching in public while still under censure, a charge he was later able to disprove. The attack, however, ended his ministerial career and he never re-entered upon pastoral duties, although he remained in Newent, living in poverty until his death on May 14, 1773.

Samuel Kirkland was brought up in the atmosphere of the emotional revivals of the "Great Awakening" which shattered the long-established religious formalism of Puritan New England. As by osmosis, Samuel learned not only the general concern for a revitalization of personal religion

among the colonists themselves, but also the parallel obligation to evangelize the heathen Indians. The teachings of "New Light" reform had spread to the territory in which the Kirklands lived shortly after Jonathan Edwards had started its New England course from Northampton in neighboring Massachusetts. By the mid-forties the movement had swept the Connecticut countryside.

In 1747 the reform groups had begun to organize their own churches. In 1750 they formed a church of seven members in Kirtland's territory of Newent. Although Daniel Kirtland had little sympathy with the more flamboyant enthusiasms of the waxing Separates, he was partial to New Light teaching in general and had friends among their leaders, especially Eleazar Wheelock, who was to exert great influence upon his son.

Samuel himself readily accepted the New Light theology with its emphasis on inner personal religion, and imbibed so much of its enthusiasm that he never entirely broke away from it.

The renewed interest in the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indians which was part of the general ferment was therefore an important factor in Samuel's early education. In the opening century of British settlement in America, none of the many efforts to convert the Indians to the Gospel had been really successful. The natives had not taken kindly to the Christian teachings, or else, in accepting them, had assimilated also the blacker aspects of disease and drunkenness from the white culture. The Indian population had shrunken drastically as the natives were killed or displaced by the white settlers. In the region where Samuel grew up, only scattered remnants of the early tribes were to be found, but Newent itself was a center for Indians and as late as 1754 groups wandered freely about the territory. In 1739 an Indian mission had been organized near New London in which the New Light ministers were very much interested. Both George Whitefield, the great English evangelist and friend to the Kirkland family, and James Davenport, Connecticut's own firebrand in the "Great Awakening," held meetings there. Samuel Kirkland, naturally close to these developments, was even more vitally affected by his contacts with Indians during his father's brief pastorate at Groton, where there was another tribe, among whom the Groton church members did much work. These early and intimate associations with the natives nurtured Kirkland's enduring interest in the Indians and their welfare.

More than these scarce details of Kirkland's early life do not emerge until he went from his father's farm to More's Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut, where he came under the potent influence of his father's friend, Eleazar Wheelock. The later founder of Dartmouth College exerted such a powerful and long-lived effect on young Kirkland that a knowledge of the man and his endeavors on behalf of the Indians is necessary to understand why Kirkland himself entered so wholeheartedly upon missionary work, a vocation ultimately to lay the foundation for Hamilton College.

Wheelock was born in Windham, Connecticut, in 1711, and after graduating from Yale College in 1733 was licensed to preach in 1734. The following year he was installed as pastor of the Second or North Society of Lebanon. A friend of the saintly Whitefield and brother-in-law to Davenport, he was caught up in the fervors of the Awakening and became one of the most stirring and popular preachers in the movement. His sermons were attacked by many of his standpat contemporaries for inciting their hearers to excesses of religious passion.

In addition to his pastoral duties, Wheelock prepared students for college in his home. In 1743, he took under his care Samson Occom, a young Mohegan Indian from the vicinity of New London, whose superior abilities recommended him as one of missionary timber. Wheelock's experience in training Occom was so successful that his earlier interest in the welfare of Indians, a nebulous feeling he held in common with other New Light adherents, developed into a coherent plan for the conversion and education of other Indian youths. The native boys, Wheelock decided, should be uprooted from their tribal surroundings and brought to live with him in Lebanon, there to receive the rudiments of

religious training together with some knowledge of agriculture and husbandry. At the end of their course, the young savages, hopefully civilized, were to return to their tribes as missionaries and teachers. Of the wider aspects of his design Wheelock wrote pragmatically: "An Indian missionary may be supported with less than half the expense, that will be necessary to support an Englishman who can't conform to their manner of living. . . ." And in another place he stated, in an argument that has its modern counterparts:

And there is good reason to think, that if one half which has been for so many years past expended in building forts, manning and supporting them, had been prudently laid out in supporting faithful missionaries, and school-masters among them, the instructed and civilized party would have been a far better defense than all our expensive fortresses, and prevented the laying waste of so many towns and villages. . . . ²

Wheelock's proposal was an engaging combination of idealism and hardheadedness, calculated to catch the attention and enlist the support of many who were looking for a feasibly practical means to give an earnest of their compulsion to help their heathen brethren. Neighbors and friends contributed to the scheme for the education of pupils from the New England tribes and from the more distant nations of the Iroquois. In 1775, Colonel Joshua More, a farmer of Mansfield, Connecticut, contributed a house, a carpenter shop and three and a half acres of land in Lebanon to the venture, in consequence of which beneficences the establishment became known as "More's Indian Charity School." Across the Atlantic, missionary societies in England and Scotland furnished support which was supplemented by aid from the Board of Commissioners in Boston, representing the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. During the following decade Wheelock received twenty-nine Indian boys, ten Indian girls and, in addition, seven white vouths. In the end, however, Samson Occom, the first pupil, turned out to be the most successful of all Wheelock's Indian

students.

Kirkland, the first white student to attend the school, traveled from his father's farm to Lebanon late in October. 1760. There were at the time five Indian students in attendance at the school which was located at an isolated crossroads, about which were clustered the four buildings comprising the village. The schoolhouse stood near the church, erected in 1748 to serve the neighboring farmers as a meeting house. In it the farmers had the choice seats while the schoolboys sat in the pews in the gallery over the west stairs. The girls occupied the "hind seats on the women's side below." Southward from the church was the dwelling where the boys slept on straw in bunks and dined usually on boiled meat and vegetables and Indian pudding. The students were called to the schoolhouse each morning by the sound of a bell donated by Whitefield, and after it had been broken, by a conch shell.

The curriculum was brief, with a naturally strong emphasis on religion. Wheelock described the program for the Indian lads in these words:

They are obliged to be clean, and decently dressed, and be ready to attend prayers before sun rise in the fall and winter, and at 6 o'clock in the summer. A portion of scripture is read by several of the seniors of them; and those who are able, answer a question in the Assembly's catechism and have some questions asked them upon it, and an answer expounded to them. After prayers, and a short time for their diversion, the school begins with prayer, about 9, and ends at 12, and again at 2, and ends at 5 o'clock with prayer. Evening prayer is attended before the daylight is gone. Afterwards, they apply to their studies, etc. . . . On Lord's Day morning, between and after the meetings, the master, or some one whom they will submit to, is with them, inspects their behaviour, hears them read, catechises them, discourses to them, etc. And once or twice a week they hear a discourse calculated to their capacities upon the most important and interesting subjects. . . . 3

The program Kirkland followed was more advanced, as befitted a white boy headed for college. He endured the religious discipline and proved himself an eager and dedicated student.

In November, 1761, just over a year after he had entered the school, he journeyed to the Mohawk country with a fellow student, Joseph Brant—the Mohawk youth whose sister married Sir William Johnson, Superintendent for Indian Affairs in the colonies. Brant, later siding with the English during the Revolution, was responsible for allying the main forces of the Iroquois nations against the Americans. Although the main purpose of the trip, to recruit new students for the school, was not outstandingly successful, Kirkland was encouraged on his return to study the Mohawk language with the help of his fellow traveler.

By October of the following year, Kirkland had gone as far as he could in More's School. Wheelock, grooming him as an Indian missionary, felt that he needed a year's advanced study to fit him for the task and, together with several other benefactors, undertook to pay Kirkland's way at the College of New Jersey, the center, under President Samuel Finley, of the New Light movement in the Middle Colonies.

In the autumn of 1762, Samuel traveled uncomfortably by coastal vessel to New Jersey and entered, with some academic misgivings, the sophomore class, intending to stay only one year. He enrolled for the regular course, which included the study of Solomon's Geography, Tully and Ward's Oratory, mathematics and grammar. As a charity student, he made his own bed and prepared his own meals. He did not have the time, inclination or funds to join any of the undergraduate societies, and only occasionally stretched his meager purse to treat himself to tots of rum. Among his classmates was Ralph Wheelock, son of his mentor, an epileptic on whom Samuel kept a fraternal eye. Samuel was a fair student, standing well in his class and attracting the favorable attention of President Finley. Instead of the single year he had planned to spend in Princeton's Nassau Hall, he remained until the autumn of his senior year. Then, at the instigation of Wheelock, he left college before the graduation of his class.

Indeed, when Kirkland's degree was awarded in absentia, a dispensation arranged for by Wheelock, at the September ceremonies in 1765, the apprentice missionary had already spent ten rugged months in western New York among the Seneca Indians.

The Beginnings

In 1764 the Connecticut branch of the Scotch Missionary Society had been founded, largely at Wheelock's insistence. It was thought necessary that Kirkland, even though he had not completed his academic course, should enter forthwith upon his missionary duties as a shining example of what Wheelock's policies for educating Indian youth and training missionaries could accomplish. Wheelock in the two previous years had sent emissaries into the Iroquois territories to enlist students but with minimal results. Kirkland, as the first white missionary to live among the Senecas, most hostile of all the Iroquois, was to prove that Wheelock's plans were indeed well-founded and worthy of a continued and increased support from benefactors in the colonies and from across the Atlantic.

In mid-November, 1764, Kirkland, bearing a letter of introduction from Wheelock and accompanied by a young Delaware Indian schoolmate, found himself the guest of the legendary Sir William Johnson. Kirkland was welcomed warmly by Sir William, both as an individual of whom he in the course of time became fond, and in a more practical way as a potentially useful tool in his official endeavors to promote and maintain peace among the Indians.

The twenty-three-year-old's purpose was to proceed farther west to the lands of the Senecas who were at the time more than usually ill disposed toward the British as a result of their reverses during the Pontiac wars. But Sir William would not allow Kirkland to continue on his journey to the Senecas until he had secured trustworthy native guides. Only on January 17, 1765, could the young man start westward

to bring to the natives the benefits of Christianity, to learn their language, and more particularly to recruit their youth for Wheelock's school. When he did move up the Mohawk Valley, carrying safe-conducts from Johnson, he entered upon an adventure which lasted for more than a year, combining in that time so well-shaken a measure of danger, intrigue, hunger and unselfish kindliness that his doings smack rather of fiction than of sober reality.

Kirkland set out from Johnson Hall in the safekeeping of two Seneca guides. Going through heavy snow along the Mohawk River where isolated settlers as far west as the present city of Utica already portended the future waves of white men, Kirkland passed into Oneida territory beyond Fort Stanwix, an outpost built in 1758 where Rome now stands. At Kanonwalohule, the principal castle of the Oneidas, he paused briefly, rejecting the arguments of the chiefs seeking to detain him for a year before visiting the Senecas. Not until February 7 did Kirkland reach Kanadasaga, a native village at the foot of Seneca Lake, where now the city of Geneva is situated, and one of the few remaining centers of English influence among the Senecas.

The following day Kirkland delivered Sir William's message to a council. He was welcomed to the tribe, adopted into the family of the chief sachem, and lodged in the house of a "sober and temperate man and honest." Shortly after his arrival, his host died suddenly and Kirkland fell under the suspicion of his murder. His adoptive family hid him in the woods while the question of his guilt was threshed out in heated council. Only after protracted argument was Kirkland's innocence accepted, for a powerful minority of the tribe bitterly opposed his presence and wished no part of his Christian endeavors.

On his return to the village, Kirkland was able to live in comparative harmony with the Indians, learning their language and gentling them toward the Christian faith. The season was one of famine and for several weeks he was reduced to eating white acorns fried in bear's grease and soup rich only in maggots. By the end of April his situation was so desperate that he determined to return to Johnson Hall for

supplies. He therefore set off for the Mohawk River accompanied by a member of his adopted family, the man's wife and four children. As they crossed the treacherously shallow waters of Oneida Lake, a storm surprised them, foundering their canoe just as it touched the shore. When Kirkland finally reached Johnson Hall on May 3, Sir William greeted him with astonishment: "Good God, Mr. Kirkland, you look like a whipping post."

In the meantime, the wife of his Indian companion had become seriously ill. Kirkland, exhibiting the willingness to share the hardships of his Indian charges which marked his entire career, chose instead of resting comfortably in the great Hall to put up in the native's hut, nursing the woman until her death. When he returned to his post in Kanadasaga, reports of his kindliness served to make the Indians less suspicious of him and his motives. The feeling, however, was not universally held, for a stubborn minority continued to resent his presence and made several nearly successful attempts on his life. Kirkland, working on a Seneca dictionary and grammar, remained with the tribe until early in 1766, when Wheelock called him back to Connecticut to be ordained.

On June 19, 1766, at his ordination in Lebanon, Kirkland was also commissioned as an Indian missionary by the Connecticut Board of Correspondents for the Honorable Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. At last fully accredited for his lifework, Kirkland determined to take up his task among the Oneida Indians rather than to return to the less promising field of the Senecas. The nearer tribe, abutting the fringes of white settlement, had for a considerable period been exposed to missionary endeavors. It was considered better for Kirkland to consolidate this work, leaving the salvation of the more westerly tribes for the future.

Kirkland left Lebanon for his new post on July 7, 1766, leading a company of six. His destination was the Oneida castle of Kanonwalohule, a village of some forty houses and a small log church, through which he had passed on his earlier journey to the Seneca country. Kirkland, aided by his companions, immediately undertook an ambitious program

of instruction, study and proselytizing. He began to compose an Oneida grammar and quickly learned to speak the Oneida language, ridding himself of dependence upon a native interpreter. The young missionary, though not yet thoroughly recovered from the effects of his Seneca privations, was soon left to cope alone with the basic problems of the Indians drunkenness, famine, the fraudulent workings of unscrupulous white traders-dilemmas which were never to be completely resolved. All the personal tribulations Kirkland faced -existing in extreme discomfort in primitive surroundings, strenuous and often hazardous physical labor, lonelinesswere compounded by his lack of resources. Wheelock, either by design or necessity, kept his emissary on the shortest of rations. In December, 1766, Kirkland described himself as: "without money, no purse, no staff, little Bread; broken shoes, ragged coat, no blanket-poor pilgrim indeed."

During this period of privation Kirkland lived as an Indian, sharing fully in their difficulties. When early in 1769 he received £30 from a Scotch admirer, the sum represented almost the first money he had had for his own use since he left college. Most of this went to provide relief for the Indians who were that year beset by a famine. Although his own poverty was such as to diminish his status among his charges, who understandably looked askance at a white man who lived more like a dog than a Christian minister, his kindliness and unselfish industry gained from the natives an affection and confidence which soon led them to look to him for counsel in their affairs, both temporal and spiritual.²

The constant hardships and exposure wore down Kirkland's endurance and forced him to spend the summer of 1769 in New England recuperating. In September of that year, he married Jerusha Bingham, a niece of Wheelock's. He took his bride back to the Oneida country—where the following August at German Flats in the household of Nicholas Herkimer, later the hero of the Battle of Oriskany, she gave birth to twin boys. They were named after George Whitefield, the evangelist, and John Thornton, a wealthy London merchant and philanthropist who lent much aid to both Wheelock and Kirkland. When the infants arrived among

the Oneidas, they were adopted into the tribe and George was given the name Lagoneost, and John, a future president of Harvard, Ahganowiska ("Fair Face").

During this period, differences between Kirkland and Wheelock appeared and grew in intensity. Kirkland was on bad terms with Wheelock's son, Ralph, the epileptic with whom he had been in college and who sought jealously to interfere with Kirkland's mission. The Indians, moreover, rejected Wheelock's basic premises. They preferred to have their children taught at home under Kirkland's guidance rather than send them away to Wheelock's establishment. And there was always a lack of adequate financial support from Wheelock. By October, 1770, Kirkland was pressed to seeking freedom from this increasingly galling subservience. He turned for help to the American branch of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in America and finally placed himself under the care of the Boston Board of Commissioners. By it and by Harvard College jointly he was granted an annual allowance of £100, with a further allowance of £30 because he, having learned the Indian language, needed no interpreter.

With this regular if not overly-generous income Kirkland was enabled to continue his mission, devoting himself to his work, building a fund of trust and good will among the Indians, and gradually, with many backslidings on the part of the natives, promoting the cause of Christianity. After a time he was able to acquire for his charges a sawmill, a gristmill, farming implements and a blacksmith shop. In this early period before the Revolutionary wars, Kirkland succeeded in establishing a vigorous if primitive church. Enlisting Indian teachers, he maintained schools which from fifty to a hundred pupils attended. He endeavored to instruct the tribe as a whole in the habits of industry, and persuaded them, with many lapses, to prohibit the sale of liquor in their territories. Even at this time when the Indians still constituted an independent and strategic force in the affairs of the colonies, Kirkland realized that they needed education and must gradually assimilate the white man's culture if they were long to survive.

The role of a missionary then was far from being purely religious. The independent status of the Indian nations, the tensions with the English government, and the constant dangers of Indian uprisings, forced Kirkland to be at once diplomat, secret agent, and government emissary. As the tensions between the Colonies and the English government grew tighter, the influence of Kirkland among the Oneidas served to prevent a unanimity of decision among the Six Nations of the Iroquois—a historic unity necessary for joint action in support of British interests which were favored by a majority of the Indians. Had Kirkland not been able to sustain a spirit of neutrality among the Oneidas before and during the Revolutionary wars, success for the colonists would have been immeasurably more difficult.

During the wars themselves, the unity and strength of the Iroquois League was shattered. Only the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras favored the colonists' cause, a stand which isolated them from their brother tribes. The Oneidas were reduced to poverty and driven to take scant refuge near Albany. Kirkland's mission was broken up and his church destroyed. He himself served as an army chaplain at Fort Schuyler and with General Sullivan's punitive expedition through the Indian territories in Pennsylvania and New York. He also directed Oneida scouts and advised the Colonies' military leaders on Indian matters. These pressing duties left little time to devote to his native charges.

When, with the winning of peace, the Oneidas straggled back to their ravaged land, all the pressures of disintegration that had slowly beset them throughout Kirkland's earlier ministry were quickened. On top of their basic poverty, they were subjected to increasing and incessant white demands upon their remaining lands. The politics of war had driven deep and permanent schisms between them and their fellow Iroquois. The rivalry between the State of New York and the central government over the conduct of Indian relations left the Oneidas with no trustworthy protection. It was now urgently apparent that if the Oneidas were to survive at all, they must conform to white patterns. Agriculture and education, desirable before the wars, had become vital to their

survival.

If the plight of the Indians was desperate, that of Kirkland was little better. His mission was entirely destroyed and had to be rebuilt from the ground. All his renewed missionary endeavors were limited and frustrated by the opposition of a French-Catholic party among the Oneidas, by a growing pagan party and by the vagaries of the national and state Indian policies which he was called upon to interpret and implement. At the same time, his own financial situation, never very sound, was now worse than ever since his regular salary had been cut off by the war. Nor did he regain his financial feet for several years, until he again had the support of the Boston Board, the Society in Scotland, and Harvard College. By mid-1788, however, when the lands of the Oneidas had been almost entirely taken over by the white settlers, Kirkland had received grants of some 4,000 acres from the State and from the Oneidas themselves. These gifts, together with his renewed salary, placed him temporarily in circumstances better than he had known before.

But in 1784-1785 Kirkland had returned to his post, faced with the necessity of rebuilding his entire mission. While he with some success renewed his efforts to attract the natives to the Christian fold, his views on the proper kind of training for his charges underwent considerable change in the next few years. In 1787 he was able to establish a small school in the Oneida territory, an institution for Indians alone, set isolated in their land. The Indians themselves were being forced to realize in larger numbers that their very survival depended upon their adapting themselves to the alien role of agriculturists. Education and vocational training were now absolutely necessary for their young people. Kirkland strongly advocated to the Boston Board and to the Society in Edinburgh that schools be established in the Indian territory where the young were to learn "reading and writing and the first Principles of Religion . . . [and] the arts of Civilized Life."

Throughout 1791 Kirkland pursued the idea of educating the Indians in their own villages. In his conferences with the chiefs of the Five Nations, he found considerable enthusiasm for the project. However, it was apparent that a major stumbling block was the procuring of schoolmasters. The heyday of missionary enthusiasm, so long fostered and exploited by Wheelock, was past, and few if any candidates were willing to subject themselves to the low-paid misery of a life deep in the Indian territory. It was on this point as much as on any other that the early plans for Indian education for Indians alone foundered.

Kirkland wasted no time in doing what he could with the means at hand, and by February, 1791, had seen to the establishment of a native school at Oneida with an Indian, Jacob Reed (alias Atsiaktatige), as teacher. Reed opened the school with twenty-four students and would have had more if he had been able to procure spelling books for them. His pupils were taught both the Indian and English languages. Kirkland started this school, as he had done so many things in the past, on faith, for he was not certain whether the Society in Scotland or the Harvard College Corporation would pay the expenses. In any case, he was unable to devote his full attention to the project because of demands made upon him by the federal authorities in Philadelphia, where critical conversations were being conducted with the Indians. Indeed he was so busy that he told President Willard of Harvard in June, 1791, that "The political and temporal concerns of the Indians, partly owing to the unhappy divisions among them, have occupied more than one third of my time the year past, & at some seasons almost worn me out. . . . "3

Always the difficulties of communication beset and hampered Kirkland. In the middle of 1791 he was chided by the Secretary of the Harvard Corporation for not having decided on the location of two Indian schools. This point Kirkland thought had been settled the preceding year, when he had decided to recommend a school in Kanonwalohule (or somewhere else in the Oneida Territory) and another in the Seneca country.

During this period the authorities in Philadelphia were concerning themselves with the education of the Indians. It was their feeling that the Indian problem would eventually be solved largely by the pressure of civilization upon barbar-

ism, and that the economy of the savage would not be able to survive against that of the white man. The Indian would in the long run be forced to retreat by these conditions. In the short run, however, so long as it was possible that the Iroquois might unite with the western tribes against the whites, the government, under policies directed primarily by Secretary of War Knox, favored experiments in education and husbandry and were willing to support them financially. But as soon as it became apparent that no general uprising would occur, enthusiasm for the natives' welfare waned.

At this time, when Kirkland was coming to believe that a central school attended by Indians and by white boys and located on the outskirts of an established white community, would be advantageous, his latest plans for a school in an Indian village showed signs of bearing fruit. On November 3, 1791, the Board in Boston voted to hire one Ebenezer Caulkins for six months to teach in the Oneida country, at a salary of twenty pounds lawful money. Caulkins took over the direction and ran a school at Oneida. A little later, Kirkland wrote of him:

Mr. Caulkins appears to be one of a thousand for the business, if he can be prevailed upon to prosecute it. Most of the Indians are exceedingly fond of him, and approve of this method of instruction, and even fully justify his rigid discipline, which is very remarkable of Indians. The proficiency of one of his scholars in writing has astonished the Indians, and will scarcely gain the credit of the Honbl Board. . . . 4

At about the same time, however, the Caulkins school was described in less flattering terms by a "man of character & responsibility," who wrote in a letter to a director of the Scotch Society in Edinburgh:

I travelled thro' a tract of country for ages the settlements of the six nations. I visited the Oneida, Mohegon and Mohecan Indians. They are deplorable ignorant. We have effectually conveyed our vices, but not the Gospel to

them. A few women seem impressed with Religion. The men, deprived of exercise & hunting, have become idle. Acquainted with ideas of property, filled with jealousy & envy, vices for which a hundred years ago Indians had no name, when applied to wealth. They are addicted to drunkenness, men & women, &, what is strange to their heathen neighbors, uncleanness prevails among them. They hear me, thank me, & pursue their former course. I believe that in a short time they will be annihilated. They have a school. It is taught by a New England lad, & consists of about fifty naked Boys & nearly as many girls. The Master understood no Indian, his children no English. I might, from some specimens I saw, expect they would learn to paint & draw; but to read I fear they will find it difficult. I am persuaded the schoolmaster is more useful than the Minister (absit invidia verbo) in preserving order & decency.5

"The Plan of Education"

Just before Caulkins' engagement, Kirkland had drawn up a "Plan of Education for the Indians" which codified his revised ideas and called for a central school to be established close to a white settlement in Oneida. This concept differed radically from that held earlier by Wheelock, for it assumed that it was useless to take young Indians great distances from their homes to educate them, the contrasts of life and discipline being too marked for them to surmount. To this institution would be admited two Indian youths from the Oneida and Seneca tribes and one each from the Onondaga, Cayuga and Tuscarora tribes. Since the Indians were in the future going to have to live in a predominantly white civilization, it was basically important for them to learn English. Kirkland pointed out that of the thirty Indian students in the existing school at Oneida, only four spoke English with any facility. The best way for them to learn English was for them to hear the language spoken. For this reason, Kirkland advocated that a number of "English youth" be admitted to the school, a group which would pay its own way. Once a groundwork of reading and writing, both English and Indian, and an elementary knowledge of arithmetic had been acquired, the Indians

may be instructed into the principles of human nature, and the history of civil society, so far as is necessary to give them a knowledge of the means which conduce to the wealth, power, and happiness of Nations, such as laws, government, agriculture, industry, etc.—that they may be able clearly to discern the difference between a state of

nature and a state of civilization, and may know what it is that makes one nation differ from another. Lastly let them be taught the principles of natural and revealed religion. Moral precepts and the more plain and express doctrines of Christianity should be constantly inculcated.

In order to see that a system of elementary schooling should be inaugurated among the Indians as quickly as possible, Kirkland proposed that two young men from the Oneidas and two young Indians from the neighboring Indian villages who already knew something of the English language and manners should study in the central school for six or eight months, there to learn reading and writing. Then these students would return to teach common schools in their home villages, the cost of which was to be sustained by the Indians themselves.

Students at the proposed central school should learn the rudiments of agriculture by cultivating a tract of land near the school. However, to introduce agriculture generally, each village should have a resident farmer. Again after the first year of this experiment the Indians should bear the expense. When the practice of agriculture had become general among the Indians, a "work-house" should be established in one of their main villages, where the females, after learning to read and write, should be taught spinning, weaving and domestic economy.

To support his thesis, Kirkland pointed out the changes which had been forced upon the Indians. Whereas formerly they lived by hunting and fishing, it was now recognized by them that their existence depended upon their turning to agriculture. He also considered that much of the prejudice against them in the minds of the whites had been dissipated. He maintained that those sent away to school in earlier years had been selected without regard to their aptitude, and had been chosen too late and taken away from school too soon. On their return to their tribes, they had no choice but to revert to what he called "the savage mode of life."

He concluded that so far no fair trial had yet been made for the improvement of the Indians. His statement on the

capabilities of his charges has a strangely modern ring:

For I cannot yet admit the idea . . . that there is a repugnancy in the very frame and constitution of their minds to intellectual improvements and the arts of civilized life. After more than twenty years' observation, I am not able to discover any other repugnancy in the Indian mind to civilization, than what arises from the mere force of an Indian or pagan education. That they want capacity cannot be urged, for they discover in many things great ingenuity and address; and some marks of original genius are found among them. That they have such a viciousness and depravity of disposition as forbids their civilization, is not true; for their ideas of right and wrong in many cases, if known, would do them honor. What I have seen among them, instead of weakening, confirms to me the opinion of most philosophers, that the difference between one nation and another is not so much owing to nature as to education. I think we have every reason to believe that the present inhabitants of the United States owe all their superiority over the native savages of the wilderness in point of dignity to the cultivation of their minds and in the civil and polite arts. . . .

Kirkland sent his plan of education for comment and support to a great many people, including Timothy Pickering, who was the Postmaster General and for some time Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Washington Administration. On December 4, 1791, Pickering approved its general tenor.² He was, however, emphatic in considering that any educational efforts should be confined to "plain learning and husbandry." More complicated subjects, and especially the "principles of natural, and the doctrines of revealed religion," would be quite above the comprehension of the Indians and would do far more harm than good.

Shortly thereafter Kirkland visited Philadelphia to confer with Secretary of War Knox on various Indian affairs. He left with him a detailed estimate of the costs of his educational proposals, so far as they dealt with schools in the Indian villages. The sum came to \$1,183.16½, and specified that the third schoolmaster called for should be supported by the Society in Scotland. In this outline Kirkland stressed the vocational aspects of his proposals and dealt in great detail with the kind of farm implements which should be provided. He also pointed out that one reason for making an initial effort of this kind among the Oneidas was that they had been friends to the United States during the wars, and had

suffered much in the common cause; they have already approximated considerably towards Civilization . . . the ideas and impressions which the Oneidas imbibe of our national character will unavoidably have great influence with the western parts of the confederacy and even extend to more remote nations.

The following year the plan for education evolved more quickly. While Kirkland himself continued to look upon the proposed academy as an institution to be primarily devoted to the welfare of the Indians, and so promoted it in Philadelphia, Boston and Edinburgh, the realities of the country's development were increasingly apparent, and, as later events proved, the education of the Oneidas was to be secondary to the interest of the white community.

The settlement in Clinton, for instance, had grown to such an extent that the need for a white school there was apparent. Six years prior to 1793 there were no white settlers in what became the village. The entire region was wilderness, heavily forested, segmented by creeks and rivers and traversable only by Indian trails. In March, 1787, eight families, led by Captain Moses Foote, came to rest along the Oriskany. These original families were soon joined by others, stemming also from Massachusetts and Connecticut, where education had long been taken seriously. The small settlement was a frontier enclave, in which the newcomers started from scratch. The land was cleared slowly and laboriously, by grubbing and by fire. Not least among the privations the families endured was the threat of crop failure and starva-

tion. In the same period, the settlements of Whitestown, New Hartford and other nuclei of migrants were being established, similarly by people for the most part from the same New England areas. By 1792 the transplanted New England village of Clinton, populated by men who had been brought up to recognize the importance of education, was ripe for a school of its own. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that Kirkland's ideas should be widely discussed. On April 27, Thomas Cassety, an original settler, wrote to Kirkland while he was in Philadelphia:

I doubt not you recollect a conversation that once passed between you and me at the time Schonandow's bridge was built concerning some land that lay near the place where said Bridge was erected. It was then our opinion that if said Land can be obtained by the consent of the Indians and the Legislature . . . for the appropriation and support of any Academy to promote Literature, useful Science and Religion among them . . . that an undertaking so laudable in itself ought to be forwarded by every just effort. . . . From conversation I have had with my neighbors, . . . they appear all interested in the business and say that they will exert every nerve, to forward the so much desired object. . . . 3

In June Kirkland presented his latest ideas on the new school to the Board in Boston. His plan now called for the attendance of six or eight Indian youths, at an annual cost of \$300, with twenty or thirty scholars attending occasionally during the winter months, at no cost save for their books and tuition. The cost of an instructor for the school was estimated at \$250 a year. In addition common schools were to be maintained in the Indian villages at a cost of \$75 a year, for the first three years. The location of the central school had been decided:

about one mile north of the Indian village called Brothertown, on the Oriskany Creek, about one mile and a quarter east of the Oneida's line of separation, and about one mile west of the Oriskene Creek, where there is a settlement of white people, many of whom, especially those nearest the place proposed for the school, are respectable families, friends to industry, learning and religion, and support a good moral character. It is proposed that a small piece of land, perhaps 15 or 20 acres, should be appropriated to the sole use and benefit of the school . . . for use as a garden.

Kirkland pointed out that the Federal Government had agreed to underwrite the vocational aspects of the plan. He also stated that:

there has been some property in uncultivated, tho' valuable, lands contributed, which is to be committed to a body of Trustees with a charter of corporation from the State or Congress, and the proceeds of it, as soon as cultivated, to be applied to the support of the instructor. Some money and materials have already been subscribed, which, with the sum mentioned in the estimate (an appropriation of 200 dollars by the Board) and what more may probably be obtained, will be sufficient for erecting the building. . . .

Kirkland also said that:

for the present year I shall only prepare accommodations for several of the Chief's sons—just to make a beginning—and at the same time keep up the common school in their principal village under Mr. Calkin. . . .

So slowly did matters move in Boston that it was not until December 6 that the Board recommended to the parent body in Edinburgh that Kirkland's report be adopted, and its suggestions implemented: the society to donate \$200 for the school building, \$325 a year for the instructor and \$100 a year for seven years to support seven young Indians in the school. The committee also suggested that Harvard University and the Massachusetts Indian Society each contribute

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\$100 a year for seven years.

So far as the Academy-as it was known to its promoter-and Kirkland's plans for the education of the Indians were concerned, the year 1792 was a bright one. His ideas were shaking into a form which enlisted the support of the Indians themselves, of men prominent in public affairs and of the locality where the school was to be. In addition, Kirkland had in apparently successful operation a school at Oneida for the Indians themselves. In other ways also his affairs seemed to be on a firmer footing than in earlier years. He was a substantial landowner; his sons were progressing well at Harvard and Dartmouth; he had forwarded his plans for bringing to Clinton his family which had been living at Stockbridge in Massachusetts; and by the end of the year had almost completed the small frame house which now stands on the College campus. But his personal troubles were not over. On October 7, as he was riding one Sunday to conduct a service among the Indians, a small branch of a tree switched back and struck him in the eye. The consequences of the accident, which seemed slight at first, were grave: he never fully recovered the use of the eye and for a long time suffered great pain. In December Kirkland was so run down from the injury that he decided to visit New York in search of more adequate medical care than the frontier afforded. It was during this journey that his plans for the establishment of the Academy bore final legislative fruit.

On October 12, five days after Kirkland's accident, a group of leading men from Clinton and its vicinity met at his house to implement the Academy. A month later, eight of the men, including Kirkland, drew up a petition to the Regents of the University of the State of New York for the incorporation of the Academy. The petition spoke of the proposed school being intended for "the mutual Benefit of the young and flourishing settlements of Emigrants to said County and the various Tribes of Confederate Indians."⁴

It contained the same strong element of optimism which had characterized Kirkland's previous ventures, for it maintained that the plan had already "received the approbation and Patronage of many of the most respectable Characters

of the United States, and is also encouraged and patronized by the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge." It went on to say that "very considerable contributions have already been made, and there are strong assurances of further very liberal donations . . . provided a Charter of Incorporation can be obtained." It spoke also of the "great distance from any well-regulated Seminary of Learning clearly [evincing] the propriety and importance of having one established at the place above proposed, as the youth of that part of the Country must grow up in a state of gloomy ignorance, or their education must be attended with very great expense." These points, basic to the entire claim for public support, had been noted some time before by Kirkland. On the back of a bill of exchange which was dated June 18, 1792, Kirkland had made a rough draft of a petition to the State Legislature which as well as the Regents had the power to incorporate educational institutions—a plea which, although it was never presented and held no mention of education for the Indians, sums up the development of Kirkland's argument. It read:

To descend to the particular instance which we have the honor to superintend; situated as it is, it calls aloud for the attention of this house. And altho' they are to extend their guardian care to every Institution of a similar kind, yet there are reasons, and those forcible ones, which point out the propriety of discriminating between this and others which have been already in the state. To sum up these reasons we beg leave to turn your attention to this part of the country. It is extensive, and an uncommonly large portion of it is cultivable. Consequently at some future period the population must be immensely great. Altho at present in its infancy, it is settling with unexampled rapidity. The inhabitants already amount to several thousand, migrating chiefly from New England, where they have been initiated into the rudiments of education so far as to be sensible of its value. They are desirous of giving to their children such literary advantages as may serve to render them useful to themselves and to society. But

remote from seminaries of learning in this and in other states, and generally unable to defer the expense which must necessarily arise from the distance, they find their only resource is in their own country . . . we surely shall not be dismissed with this cold unfeeling observation, that if we are at present unable to give our children such an education as we would desire, we must patiently wait until we are.⁵

Kirkland then suggested that funds might be raised by a lottery to give "an opportunity . . . to the generous to gratify their benevolent propensities in forwarding so laudable a design, and avarice itself, lured by the prospect of gain, may unlock her hand and bestow her small pittance. . . ."

"The Dominie's Folly"

The petition intended for the Regents listed Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson and John Lansing to head the proposed board of sixteen trustees, which could later be increased to a membership of twenty-one. It is a mystery why Kirkland's name did not appear, considering his efforts over so many years in bringing the Academy into being. He told a group of Oneidas on January 1, 1794, that "for various reasons, which I have heretofore mentioned to some of you, I refused to be one of their board." More information is not available. His son John Thornton was incensed that neither his father nor his brother George sat on the Board. But once the academy was established, his lack of formal membership did not prevent his attending meetings and being consulted frequently by the actual members, particularly when they were in financial difficulties.

The petition was signed by eight local worthies, led by Kirkland, of whom only Kirkland and Joel Bristol, a prosperous farmer, did not become trustees. These eight had among them subscribed more than half in value of the real and personal property and estate gathered for the school. The original subscription list held 78 names, including one partnership which promised to donate 300 feet of 7 by 9 glass. Kirkland's name led the list with a cash donation of £10 in addition to 300 acres of land and fifteen days' work. Only three other men, Elias Kane, Oliver Phelps, the land speculator who had formed a syndicate to buy Massachusetts land holdings in western New York, and Peter Smith, father of Gerrit, the abolitionist, pledged as much money. The other sums ranged as low as 8 shillings, and there were nu-

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merous pledges of work, wood and timber, grain, and services such as blacksmithing and surveying. In all, the monetary pledges amounted £168 and 8 shillings.

While these preliminary moves were being made, Kirkland's eye continued to cause him great discomfort. On December 10 he set out to seek help from the medical specialists of New York City. At the same time he planned to present the Academy petition to the Regents, for both the Indians and the white settlers were expressing impatience at further delays in starting the school. On January 3, 1793, he conferred in New York with members of the Board of Regents and was told by Governor George Clinton, chancellor ex officio, that he would call a meeting of the body in two weeks. Kirkland thereupon decided to go to Philadelphia to gain support from the national leaders there. Five days later, on January 8, he saw President Washington who, in Kirkland's words, "again expressed approbation of the proposed Seminary, as well as that part of the Plan which has been adopted, for introducing and promoting agriculture among the Indians."1

Secretary Hamilton concurred in the support which had been bespoken for him two months earlier in Clinton and "chearfully" consented to be a trustee. This moral support was Hamilton's sole contribution to the Academy. Armed with these reassurances. Kirkland returned to New York. While Kirkland was waiting for the Regents to act, he and Michael Myers, a signatory of the petition and named as a trustee, appeared on January 26 before James M. Hughes, Master in Chancery in New York, to certify the subscription and on the same day, according to his journal, turned over the petition and subscription list to the Regents. The Regents, after several adjournments, met in the Senate Chamber on January 29 and accepted their committee's report that a charter be granted to the Hamilton-Oneida Academy. At the same meeting a charter was also granted to the Trustees of the Academy of the Town of Schenectady, later Union College. The Secretary of the Board was directed to draw up the proper instrument which was signed on January 31, 1793, by Chancellor Clinton, after whom the village in which the

new academy was located had been named. Clinton in his annual report on the work of the Regents described one purpose of the new school as being "to extend the blessing of science to the untutored savages, so as gradually to qualify them for all the duties of useful citizens. . . ." The following month the Regents assigned \$126 to the new school from the appropriations for the Literature Fund, to be used not in building the schoolhouse, but rather to aid in paying the salary of an instructor, to buy books and scientific equipment and to pay the tuition of "youths of genius" whose parents were too poor to meet the bills themselves.

Word of the successful conclusion reached Clinton before Kirkland returned to the village on February 23. The inflammation of his eye had not been reduced and he spent some time in Stockbridge resting before returning to Clinton. Meetings of the board of the new Academy were undoubtedly held, though no full records have survived. The chairman was the Reverend Dan Bradley of Whitestown and the clerk Erastus Clark, a lawyer from whose hat the slip giving the city of Utica its name had been drawn. One of the Board's first acts was to direct James Dean, the Indian agent, and a trustee, to notify the Indians officially of the opening of the new venture. Dean had been adopted by the Oneida tribe in his youth, had studied in Wheelock's school in 1762 and had graduated from Dartmouth in 1773. He later became an Indian agent for the Continental Congress. He worked for a time as an interpreter for the Boston Board, for he had lived with the Indians since he was twelve, spoke their language fluently and was trusted by them.

On April 27, sixteen Oneida chiefs, headed by Skenandoah, the Oneida chief, Kirkland's old friend and supporter, addressed the Regents in a letter of gratitude. This ended on a note sounded earlier by Kirkland:

Possibly you may have the satisfaction to find, on trial, that the minds of Indians may become as enlightened as the minds of the White people, and that all the difference between us and them consists only in the colour of the skin.²

Three days earlier, on April 24, the Board of the Academy presented to Kirkland their thanks for his "benevolent exertions in Founding Hamilton Oneida Academy, and his liberal donations toward the funds of that Institution." In recognition whereof the clerk was "directed to enter satisfaction on the minutes for the sum of ten pounds subscribed by Mr. Kirkland. . . ."³

Kirkland's donations were indeed generous: his financial help (which by 1798 had amounted to nearly \$1,700-part of which had been borrowed from his English friend John Thornton) was in addition to his original gift of land equaling one-eighth of his total holdings. He also, with two other men, built the small schoolhouse "at the foot of the mountain" in which the Academy held its first classes. Kirkland's continuing efforts got the school under way by the end of 1793. The problem of obtaining a schoolmaster was solved by hiring Ebenezer Caulkins who, as a result of the scanty funds allowed him by the Boston Board, had found it impossible to continue teaching at the Indian school in Oneida through the winter. Caulkins agreed to accept the task of teaching twenty-five white children "for a small sum" on condition that he should be allowed to take into the school as "many Indian Children, on account of the Society, as should be convenient."4 The Trustees agreed to board six or eight on their own account. It was also proposed to provide a house for an Indian family near the school where a number of Indian boys would be boarded.

In the meantime Kirkland had been conferring with the Indians. On December 30 he met with a number of chiefs who complained that the school was not free for the Indians. Kirkland persuaded them that the original plan for sending six or eight boys should be tried, and pointed out that he, James Dean and Caulkins had been named by the Trustees to select the Indian pupils. He also told them again that if they would build a house near the Academy to house the boys, they could send as many as forty or fifty or even a hundred. But for the time being there were provisions only for six or eight, of whom two or three must come from the Senecas and Cayugas.

On January 2, 1794, the Trustees sent a petition to the Boston Board seeking funds for the education of the Indians, of whom they wrote "a number of Indian youth have been introduced in a formal but pleasing and grateful manner by their respective parents. John Sergeant, missionary to the neighboring Stockbridge Indians and long a jealous rival of Kirkland's, even though he was a trustee of the Academy, refused to sign. Instead, at Kirkland's request, he outlined his objections in a separate report.⁵ In general these were reasonable. He thought that formal education for the Indians was to a large extent wasted effort; that vocational education was needed, administered on the spot by masters living with the tribes. He considered that the money spent on several students at the Clinton Academy would be much better used in maintaining a master in an Indian town, although he conceded that promising youths from areas with no established schools might go to the Academy to learn the rudiments of the English language. Where schools existed, only the most talented children should be sent. He further suggested that any funds donated for the education of the Indians should be kept in a separate fund, and that when the formal education of the talented minority was completed the funds should be diverted to aid the Indians in their own villages. He also disapproved of the ulterior political reasons for sending youths from the Seneca tribe to the school.

In February, 1794, Kirkland finally received an answer from the Edinburgh headquarters to which, just a year before, he had described his plan of education. He had expected substantial help in defraying the costs of educating the Indians and in building a schoolhouse, a proposal which had been approved by the Boston Board. The reply did not contain good news for Kirkland or for the Academy. Instead it mentioned several well-authenticated reports the Edinburgh authorities had received that in reality little was being accomplished in the education of the Indians. It also expressed disappointment that Kirkland had not sent full word on what Wheelock was doing at Dartmouth for the Indians with the Society's funds. In any case, no financial aid

was forthcoming and Kirkland was pointedly asked to answer specific questions about the welfare and Christianization of the Indians in his charge.⁶

In the meantime Kirkland had been attending the meetings of the Academy trustees. He informed the Boston Board on March 13 that the Clinton group had decided at a meeting held the previous week to erect the Academy building "the ensuing season" and that a considerable part of the necessary materials had already been collected."

In late March or early April, 1794, the temporary schoolhouse at which Caulkins was teaching in Clinton was burned to the ground and the books and other records kept in it lost. However, it was quickly rebuilt and the school reopened within three weeks. Caulkins, reporting the event to headquarters in Boston, said only four Indian boys had been in attendance during the winter before the fire, and when classes met again only one had returned, he about eight years old and "a bright little lad who improves very well. . . . "8 There were at the same time twenty-five or -six white children in school. During his enforced holiday, Caulkins had returned to Oneida where he found the Indians wanting him to return to teach there. They felt that he was being paid for his work in the Clinton school from funds designated to teach their children in Oneida. There were, Caulkins reported, seven or eight Indian lads who had been selected to attend the Academy. Unless the Trustees took immediate steps to get them into that school, he felt impelled to leave the Academy and return to the native village. This he was anxious to do "if my situation could be rendered more comfortable than it was before." Caulkins was unable to get satisfactory assurances from the Academy Board, and he left that post in September, 1794. Thereafter no school was kept for several years.

Before Caulkins left, however, an event took place which gave promise of better things. By July 1 the Board felt their plans well enough laid to proceed with the building of an entirely new Academy. On that day the cornerstone was laid by Baron von Steuben, the Inspector General of the Continental Army and since 1787 a Regent of the University of the

State of New York. The occasion was a memorable one in the history of Hamilton College and the village of Clinton. Von Steuben was escorted from Clinton up the long steep incline to the clearing on the 300-acre lot in the forest given by Kirkland. His honor guard of the Clinton Light Horse was commanded by George Whitefield Kirkland. A colorful group of Oneida Indians, led by Skenandoah, was present with citizens of the locality and members of the Kirkland family, together with Stephen Van Rennsselaer, and two military aides who had just accompanied von Steuben on an inspection tour of the western frontiers. After a prayer by Kirkland, von Steuben, wearing the military hat he had used during the wars, addressed the guests. After delivering his speech, which was fully reported in the Whitestown Gazette,9 the General presented to the Trustees their copy of the charter of the Academy.

In spite of this auspicious beginning, the Trustees were in trouble. They were already running out of funds. Six weeks after von Steuben's visit, Kirkland was forced to guarantee a loan for \$400 to continue the work on the new building. By February of the following year, according to Kirkland, more than \$2,000 had been spent on the structure. This sum included the subscriptions which were only slowly being redeemed, together with other smaller amounts already borrowed. It was not enough, and the missionary was seeking to borrow, on the security of the land he had donated to the Academy, an additional \$1,000 or \$1,200 from the patroon Stephen Van Rennsselaer. Again, in August, 1795, the Trustees were obliged to borrow another \$700 on a mortgage to Erastus Clark, Jonas Platt and Thomas R. Gold, all three members of the Board.

In 1795, the Academy was visited by a committee of the Regents, which on November 3, reported:

That there is a frame of an edifice designed for an Academy erected about a year ago, and it is partly enclosed. It is situated a mile and a half from the flourishing village of Clinton, on the Oriskany mountain. It appears difficult of access, and too distant from families where students

might be accommodated with lodging and board. The frame is eighty-eight feet long, forty-two feet wide and three stories high; has cost the Trustees £1,000, and by estimation will require for its completion upwards of £2,000 more. The Trustees have been compelled to interrupt the work for want of money.¹⁰

The Academy resources, according to the committee, consisted of 425 acres of land in the immediate neighborhood, mostly uncultivated. Of the sum originally subscribed, \$400 remained to be collected. An encumbrance of \$1,000 had been laid on the lands by the Trustees to raise the frame of the Academy.

The committee pointed out that the Trustees had not yet framed a curriculum or decided on the tuition fees. When the students could be accommodated, they would be able to board in the village of Clinton for eight shillings a week.

Six months later, in June, 1796, Jeremy Belknap, the eminent Congregational minister, who, together with Jedediah Morse, the geographer, was investigating for the Boston Board an Oneida complaint of Kirkland's neglect of their interests, wrote that the Academy is "nothing more than a frame, partly covered. The work has ceased and no school is kept." More than a year was to pass before the building was enclosed. In the meantime it

stood a naked frame in the midst of the forest. The foxes burrowed in its foundation, and birds built their nests beneath its rafters, and the squirrels careened up and down its naked timbers, as if in derision of the attempt to build a temple of science so near their wild domain, and it was sneeringly called "the Dominie's Folly." ¹²

While Kirkland was away from Clinton on his missionary duties, his son George acted as supervisor of the building. In November he informed his father that the school should be covered with hemlock and that every preparation would be made to finish it the ensuing spring and summer. A month later he again wrote:

I have written to Mr. Law [Consider Law, an original subscriber who had promised four days' work] to attend

to getting out the pine stuff from Peter Smith's Mill [Smith was another subscriber who had donated ten pounds to the venture]; I hope, if your team can be spared you will assist him in his exertions. The completion of the Academy and other buildings depend on the boards being transported this winter.¹³

Despite these continuing efforts, the Regents reported in March, 1797, that while the frame had been covered the Academy was worse off than it had been the previous year. They saw no prospect that the building would be completed, since all the funds had been spent. To make matters worse, the Sheriff of Herkimer County executed a judgment, later vacated, against the building and put the property up for sale to satisfy its debts. John Thornton Kirkland wrote his brother in dismay:

I see the Sheriff advertises Hamilton Oneida Academy for sale by execution—What accursed proceeding is this, How cames it, I have for some time had my apprehensions that it would fall through. I cannot name the event that would mortify me more. Have you got the Trustees to agree to any arrangements? Where are you, that you dont stir in the business, ? & not let this mighty scheme end in a farce that will mortify & disgrace the family?

The Hamilton-Oneida Academy

The year 1797 was the nadir. When the Regents met on March 5, 1798, the tide had turned. "A number of Gentlemen of property and respectability in the neighborhood, have associated and determined to assist the Trustees in carrying the work on to completion." About twenty gentlemen of Clinton and vicinity, known as the Associated Company, put up enough money, divided into twenty shares, to complete the Academy building. Many of them were trustees of the Academy, as were the leaders: Thomas Hart, Joel Bristol and Seth Hastings. They insisted, however, that Samuel Kirkland subscribe one-twentieth of the whole, a demand he acceded to, over and above his earlier contributions. The land was now valued at roughly \$1,800, and Kirkland had secured a loan of \$400 for which he was personally responsible. This cost him \$565 before it was repaid following a law suit. A little later he advanced the Academy an additional \$352 which he could ill afford. The following year, 1799, in return for a consideration of six cents he gave the Trustees a discharge for all demands and debts due in order that the \$2,000 involved might be used to complete the Academy "according to a Contract agreed on by and between Thomas Hart and his Associates of the one part and the said Trustees of the other part. . . ." In the words of a petition circulated among "all Christian societies" seeking charitable aid for the financially embarrassed missionary about this time, "had not these advances been seasonably made, the Institution must have failed and its important object been lost."

On October 8, 1798, the Associated Company notified the Trustees that "The Academy is in such a situation that we

expect to have it completed according to agreement and by the time."

Even though the building was being readied for use, the problem of getting a master remained. The Associated Gentlemen put the matter to the Trustees in these words:

As much depends on the instructor to be provided for its success we apply to you for direction on that subject. Should the Board of Trustees provide an instructor the Company will be perfectly satisfied. But should they determine otherwise, we are impowered by our Associates to propose to the Trustees the following proposal (viz) The Company will provide one or more instructors to teach said Academy for the term of one year or more if thought necessary and defray the expense of the same on condition that the Trustees have the entire direction in the business.

To cover this additional risk, the Associates proposed "that the expense of instruction for one or more years as may be agreed upon be covered by the property to be put into our hand in security for repairing said Academy."

Under this outside prodding, the Trustees acted so quickly that Kirkland was able to report to his son John Thornton on December 5, that the

building is so far completed as to receive 40 or 50 scholars and will be opened in the course of two or three weeks by an able and worthy gentleman chosen and recommended for the purpose by Dr. Dwight, President of Yale College. He is already arrived.²

The Academy did open its doors for almost twenty students on December 26, 1798, under the direction of John Niles, President Dwight's protégé. Niles and his students, however, did not meet in a completed building, despite the efforts of the Associated Company. Indeed it was not finished during the Academy's existence. Only the large schoolroom on the second floor, running the forty-foot length of the southern side of the Academy—a room used as a chapel and

1812/1962

for other public exercises—together with two rooms on the first floor were ready for use.

Niles, the first preceptor, was a native of Colchester, Connecticut, who had been graduated from Yale in 1797 and had then studied theology under President Dwight for a year until he received his license to preach. Before moving to Clinton late in 1798, he had preached in several localities in Connecticut. After his first winter at the Academy he returned to Connecticut in the spring and married Hannah Elliot of Killingsworth, the sister of Mrs. Othniel Williams of Clinton. During this interlude he induced James Murdock, a Yale classmate, to assist him at the Academy. Murdock came to Clinton in the summer of 1799, and began his teaching duties immediately, without waiting to be formally engaged by the Board of Trustees. When the Board did meet in September, the two instructors proposed that they should take over the entire direction of the Academy for the coming year, and in return receive all the tuition fees, an arrangement which the Trustees accepted gladly.

Although the school building was unfinished, the number of students was about fifty, twenty of them girls in the "female department," most of whom came from neighboring villages. These were taught by Murdock in the completed room on the first floor near the north door. The boys, under Niles, held their classes in the large schoolroom on the second floor. Several of the boys were taking studies in "the higher branches," a term which covered Latin, Greek, mathematics, philosophy and astronomy, all subjects taught by Murdock. Despite the name and basic purpose of the school, only one Indian was enrolled. Indeed, among the scanty and incomplete records of the Academy, there is evidence that only in 1803, when Harvard College agreed to support one Isaac Solegwaston in the school for a term,3 and in 1808, when one other Indian attended with forty-nine white students, were there natives in attendance. So quickly did Kirkland's purposes die, even during his lifetime. In an appendix to his journal for the years 1798 and 1799, Kirkland pointed out to the Boston Board that:

many [Indians] have applied [for admission] and repeatedly, but the provision for their support which was calculated upon has not been made. A few hundred dollars annually for the support of some Indian boys is all that is wanting to make it answer every purpose with respect to the Indians that either I or anybody else ever proposed.

The financial arrangement that Niles and Murdock had made proved inadequate and at the end of the academic year the Trustees voted to continue Niles as preceptor, but dismissed Murdock with a handsome vote of thanks for his services.

Murdock stayed on in Clinton, studying theology under Dr. Asahel S. Norton, the village's first pastor, and was licensed shortly by the Oneida Association. He preached his first sermon at Norton's preparatory lecture in January, 1801, and thereafter supplied the New Hartford church for ten weeks before returning to New Haven in April, 1801. In a reminiscence, Murdock indicated that during his stay in Clinton there was a period of much religious excitement in the Academy, especially among the girls—a revival also manifested in the village. He was later called to the chair of languages in the University of Vermont and afterward became Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Ecclesiastical History in the Andover Theological Seminary, where he remained from 1819 to 1828 when he was dismissed after disagreements with his colleagues.

Niles continued to teach at the Academy until 1801 when ill health forced him to resign. He returned to Connecticut where he lived and preached until the end of 1803 when he moved to Prattsburg in Steuben County, New York. There he relied on farming for his livelihood until 1806 when he was ordained as a minister of the gospel by the Ontario Association. In 1808 he was installed as pastor of the church in Bath, a post he held until his death of "a putrid fever" at the age of 37 in 1812.

Niles' place was taken in September, 1801, by Robert Porter who had been born in Farmington, Connecticut, on October 16, 1773, and was graduated from Yale in 1795. Af-

ter preaching for four years, and having served as a missionary among the settlements on the nearby Black River, he came to Clinton and remained as principal of the Academy until 1806. When he took over his duties, there were between forty and fifty students in the school, twelve of whom were studying Latin and Greek, and the rest Geography, Rhetoric and Mathematics. He was a married man and boarded at the foot of College Hill with Eli Bristol, a trustee. He was said to be a great favorite with the students.

The report of the Regents for the period that Porter was at the Academy stated that "the principal branches of education taught in this Academy are, the Latin and Greek languages—Arithmetic, geography, English grammar and surveying." There were two preceptors, but the name of the second is lost.

No detailed record of the curriculum at the Academy has survived. But in 1804, a year in which the Regents established a prescribed form in which the academies of the state were required to submit their annual reports, these subjects were listed: Reading and writing; English grammar, ciphering, etc.; mathematics, bookkeeping, etc.; dead languages, logic, rhetoric, composition, etc., moral philosophy, etc., French, and natural philosophy. This roster follows closely the curricula of other academies in New York and New England. The number of students studying the "dead languages" indicates that slightly more than half of the students were preparing for college.

During this period, when there were between fifty and sixty young people of both sexes at the Academy, the students lived either at home or boarded in the village or with neighboring farmers at a yearly cost of about \$65. The tuition fees came to \$12 a year, but in 1804 only \$462 was realized from this source, indicating that not all paid the full amount. The salaries for the teachers were set at \$604. Since the income from the funds of the Academy amounted to only \$48 the institution was operating at a loss, which was made up in part by a grant from the Regents.

The Academy was officially described in this way:

Value of lot and building, \$3,500, producing \$40 a year; of real and other estate \$900; personal estate, \$240; of Apparatus and Library, \$462; Tuition, \$494. Building of wood, 88 by 42 feet, three stories high and unfinished; designed to contain twenty rooms, 16 feet square, a schoolroom, 42 x 22 feet, and a Library and Apparatus Room. Four of these rooms and the schoolroom were completed. The real estate consisted of 100 acres of wild land in Sangerfield, 50 in Clinton, and 17 acres, valued at \$50 per acre. Tuition, invariable \$3 a quarter. Books in library, 189. Apparatus, terrestrial globe, a surveyors compass and chain, a thermometer and an electrical machine. Board almost universally \$1.25 per week.4

In 1802, in an effort to provide better accommodations and to increase the size of the student body, thirty-six local worthies had invested \$2,325 in the construction of a boardinghouse, a two-story wooden house measuring forty-two by thirty feet, which was built facing east down the Hill at the northeast corner of the campus where Campus Road now branches off from College Hill. The management of this boardinghouse was farmed out to a man and his wife for \$150 a year—a sum which was distributed in ninety-four parts among the investors.

Porter stayed at the academy until 1806 when he removed to Prattsburg, New York, where he headed a colony for the settlement of that town. He preached there for a while and then founded a school of his own. He died in 1847 at the age of 74.

Porter was succeeded by Seth Norton, a graduate of Yale, and brother to the Reverend Asahel S. Norton. He stayed at the Academy until 1807 when he resigned to take up a tutorship at Yale. During the year he held that post, his place at the Academy was taken by James Watson Robbins. Leaving Yale after twelve months, Norton returned to remain as head of the Academy until 1812 when he became professor of languages in the new college, a position he held until his death in 1818.

Seeking a Charter

By 1805 the Academy was well established. The tuition fees were \$12 a year, coming from fifty students, and yielding \$597. Since the teacher only received \$460 a year, the school was at last operating without loss. The total holdings of the school in buildings and land were valued at \$4,400, together with \$280 of "personal estate." The library and the scientific apparatus were valued at \$300. In addition the permanent funds of the school yielded \$68 a year. So encouraging was the prospect that the Trustees felt they could safely petition the Regents for a change of status from academy to college, the arguments for the change being much the same as they had been for the establishment of an academy in 1793: the need for higher education near at hand; the excessive cost of sending the local youths away to college in New England or elsewhere on the coast; and, perhaps more important, the element of local pride. The entire region at this period was flourishing and its outlook for future advances seemed at the time almost unlimited.

On March 18, Thomas Hart, President of the Board of Trustees, in seeking collegiate status of the Regents, wrote:

By great and persevering exertions a building has been erected, which will be amply sufficient for the accommodation of one hundred students. It is situated on an eminence, possessing of the advantages of a pure and healthful air, and extensive and rural prospect; in the midst of a moral, frugal and industrious people, contiguous to the Great Western Turnpike, and in the vicinity of several large and flourishing villages, where the business and

wealth of the country will center. A single view of a map will show that its local situation is singularly and almost exclusively advantageous. To the North, to the South, and to the West, we have a wide spreading country, already settled, and increasing with unexampled rapidity in population and wealth.

Should it be thought that a more Western situation would be more preferable, a little consideration, it is believed, will convince your Honorable Body of the inexpediency of such a measure. For although the country from East to West is extensive, yet from North to South it is greatly contracted, being pressed by the Allegheny Mountains on the one hand and by Lake Ontario on the other. And as we advance to the Westward for their accommodation, we recede from the people adjacent to Black River, who are equally entitled to your patronage and encouragement. 1

Despite the cogency of these arguments the Regents postponed any consideration of the matter until the following year, when again nothing was done about it.

Samuel Kirkland died on February 28, 1808. For the last ten years of his life, he had been beset by misfortunes of every kind. Two of his sons had died and one of these, George Whitefield, had brought financial disaster to his father through speculations in land. Kirkland's health, broken by years of hardship among his Indian charges, caused him constant worry and expense. His long connections with the missionary societies of Boston and Edinburgh were terminated under circumstances which appeared harsh considering his length of service. In his lifetime the Oneidas had fallen from their independent state and showed few positive results from their white father's forty-year mission. Only in the gradual growth of the Academy did there appear to be visible reward for Kirkland's efforts; but that had developed along lines far from its founder's original intent. In 1807, just before Kirkland died, there were 121 students in the school but no Indian youths. It must have been only a source of mixed gratification to him that the institution was flour-

ishing, and on its way to becoming a college.

Two years after Kirkland's death, the Academy remained so steady on its feet that the Trustees felt they could again apply to the Regents for a college charter. There were only two colleges in the state, Columbia and Union, to which travel was arduous and costly. The feeling among the inhabitants of the Western District that they needed an inexpensive and accessible college of their own was growing stronger year by year.

Over and beyond this basic urge, there were other motives behind the drive for the establishment of Hamilton College. The most important were the intricacies of political maneuvering and local pride, resting on the apparently bright economic future of the Utica area. In the decade before the Regents granted a charter to the new college, the balance of political power in the country as a whole had completely changed. The Federalists, heirs of Washington and Hamilton, had given way before the more popular ideas of the Jeffersonians. The Republicans, under Jefferson and Madison, had swept the polls, except in New England and in other isolated areas, of which the Western District of New York was one. This was a region in which the dominant strain of population stemmed from New England. And in this Western District the strongest Federalist castle was Oneida County. The master politician of the county, the Federalist leader and local boss, was Jonas Platt, lawyer, member of Congress, candidate for governor in 1810 and later a prime mover in the construction of the Erie Canal.

It was he, in conjunction with other leading Federalists of the Clinton, Whitestown and Utica region, who saw to it that the charter was granted. These men, well-established, controlling the political power of the wide and increasingly important Western District, wielded a power in the state councils out of proportion to their actual popular support. In the legislative logrolling of the early nineteenth century they were able to promote smaller projects such as the acquisition of college charters.

Added to these general political considerations was that of local prestige. For the first two decades of the century, Utica appeared to be the coming city in the region, potentially one of the most important transportation centers in the United States. It was growing so rapidly that its citizens were convinced that it would soon take its place among the largest cities in the land. The bubble did not long survive, but the College was founded when it was at its plumpest.

Working with Platt in the interest of a local college were the Kirkland and Lothrop families of Utica, both closely related to Samuel Kirkland and consequently anxious to aggrandize the project which was his most successful achievement. (John H. Lothrop, a classmate at Yale of Hamilton's first president, and a lawyer, editor and banker, married Jerusha, Samuel Kirkland's daughter, in 1797.) For such reasons, the Hamilton-Oneida Academy, situated ten country miles from the rapidly expanding Utica, received the support of that community's prominent citizens, support which otherwise might have been lent to the establishment of an institution in that city.

But when the Trustees of the Academy made another application for a college charter, five years after their second attempt, the Regents again turned them down on February 26, 1810. There the matter stood for a year until March 4, 1811, when the Regents referred another petition to a committee consisting of James Kent, Simeon De Witt and De Witt Clinton. In this petition, Joel Bristol, now president of the Board, and Sewall Hopkins, the clerk, said, in part:

The Academy is situated in a healthy part of the country, among a sober, discreet and well-educated people, contiguous to a number of flourishing villages, and very near the local center of the State. At the same time it is too remote from the Colleges already incorporated, to interfere with their interests or check their prosperity.

... From the beginning it was the determination of the Trustees faithfully to execute the intention of the institution. They therefore resolved that no person should be admitted to this Seminary who was unable to read with readiness, or write a fair legible hand. Applicants deficient in these particulars were invariably excluded, both by the

regulations and by the actual practice of the Academy. If the Honorable Regents should recur to our annual report—they will find that no similar institution in the State has been favored with a greater number of students in classical literature, and that we have not deprived the common schools in the neighborhood of their proper employment.

Your petitioners also beg leave to state that this institution is the first establishment of the kind in the Western District.

Should the prayer of your petitioners be granted, they feel the greatest confidence, that the liberality of the same people who under circumstances of comparative want and embarrassment established and fostered the infant Academy would not now suffer a collegiate institution to languish. Their inquiries with reference to this subject authorize them to assure the Honorable Regents that a fund of \$15,000 might be easily procured.²

At the same time that the Trustees made this plea, the Kingston Academy, in Kingston, Ulster County, founded in 1774 and incorporated in February, 1795, appealed for a similar change in its status. A Regents' committee, however, felt that no college should be started with funds less than \$50,000, which neither applicant possessed. But it did consider that the time was ripe for a third college in the state, and that it should be established in the Western District.

Having set the rules and held out some hope, the Regents denied the petitions in both cases.

The annual report of 1811, the last made by the Academy, showed an attendance of 150 students, of whom 5 were in reading and writing, 76 in English grammar, 30 in mathematics, 30 in the dead languages, 25 in logic, rhetoric and composition, and 2 in moral philosophy. The value of the lot and building was set at \$11,525, of other real estate at \$2,357, of personal estate \$850, of apparatus and library \$447. Tuition brought in \$740, being from \$8 to \$12 per annum for each student. The principal, Seth Norton, receiving a salary of \$650, had as his assistant, Eli Eddy, an 1806 graduate of Middlebury College who was paid \$240. The average

price of board for a 44-week year was \$55.3 The library consisted of about 200 volumes and the apparatus included a barometer, thermometer, terrestrial globe, mirrors, surveyor's instruments and a map. (The map, published in 1802, was discovered in deplorable condition in the College Library's cellar in 1956. It is, except for the Charter and the Alumni House, the only extant possession of the Academy. It was made by Simeon De Witt, and engraved by Gideon Fairman who later designed the College Seal in 1813.)

Clinton versus Fairfield

At the time that a race for a college charter was going on between the Hamilton-Oneida Academy and the Kingston Academy, schools widely separated geographically and not in a real sense competing with each other, a more serious rivalry, involving pride, ambition and politics, had sprung up between the school in Clinton and the neighboring Fairfield Academy, located in the village of that name in Herkimer County.

Ten years after the Hamilton-Oneida Academy had received its charter, the Regents granted similar privileges to the Fairfield school. This new academy opened its doors on April 13, 1803: its main building had been started even before the Regents acted. The principal of the school was the Reverend Caleb Alexander, Alexander, born in Northfield. Massachusetts, in 1755, had spent his first three college years at Dartmouth and then transferred to Yale in his senior year to graduate with the Class of 1777. After some years of preaching and writing-he was the author of successful English, Greek and Latin grammars and of the 1800 Columbian Dictionary—he was appointed by the Massachusetts Missionary Society to visit the Presbyterian congregations and the Indians in the Grant and Military Tracts in central New York. When the Fairfield project was still in the planning stage, he was selected as principal of the new school and aided it in obtaining a charter. He moved to Fairfield with his family in 1802, where his salary as principal was settled at \$300 a year. For about three years he was the only instructor in the school. Then he was joined by an assistant teacher named Joseph Montague. Under the two men the

Academy prospered and acquired a high reputation for its courses in chemistry and natural science which Montague taught.

In 1808 the Fairfield trustees decided to start a medical department, and the following year courses in that field were added to the curriculum. These included anatomy, materia medica, chemistry, medical jurisprudence and "Apothecary and Mechanical Arts." A laboratory had been built in 1808. and in 1809 a three-story building was erected to house the medical department. In 1808 Dr. Josiah Noves, a talented graduate of Dartmouth College, took over the work in chemistry and the natural sciences. Shortly after his arrival in Fairfield, he said that the two lecture rooms at Fairfield, for anatomy and chemistry, were better than any others built for the same purpose save those in Philadelphia. His own chemical apparatus was superior to any in New York City. Much of the reputation held by Fairfield as a medical school was due to his work. The second man in the medical department was Dr. Nathaniel Jacobs of Canandaigua, the best known doctor in the western part of the state, whose association with Fairfield did not, however, last long.

When Noyes was at Dartmouth he had studied under Dr. Lyman Spalding, who practiced in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and later in New York City. While Spalding investigated yellow fever, vaccination and hydrophobia, he was best known for founding the *United States Pharmacopoeia* in 1820. The outlook for Fairfield was so promising that Noyes asked Spalding to give a course of lectures there. There were forty-one students and the State Legislature had granted the department \$5,000, which, however, was tied up with the system of lotteries and not immediately available. Spalding accepted the offer, bringing with him to Fairfield Dr. George Sheyne Shattuck to lecture on the theory and practice of medicine. In the meantime Dr. Westel Willoughby had also joined the faculty, as professor of obstetrics.

With this able faculty, the school which for some time had been accepted as a keen academic rival of the Hamilton-Oneida Academy was flourishing and pressing to obtain a college charter.

After the Regents had turned down the requests from Hamilton-Oneida and Kingston Academies for college charters in 1811, it was clear that time and the raising of \$50,000 would see the establishment of one college, and for the time being only one, in the Western District, and that the two chief contestants for the honor were now the Hamilton-Oneida Academy and Fairfield. In the contest between the two in Albany, the weight of influence was heavily in favor of the Clinton school, supported as it was by Jonas Platt, already "engaged with great zeal in promoting the undertaking." Throughout 1811 the forces favoring the Hamilton-Oneida Academy were pushing their cause against the claims of Fairfield, which were being presented in Albany by Caleb Alexander. In January, 1812, however, Alexander suddenly changed his allegiance, deserted the Fairfield cause, and with Noyes and Montague, devoted his entire efforts to promoting the cause of the proposed college in Clinton.

In the same month the agitations of the Clinton faction culminated in a printed petition to the Regents, couched in terms noticeably more forceful than those of the preceding requests. The declaration pointed out that the eastern and southern parts of the state had been accommodated with colleges, and that now it was the turn of the Western District which was greater in area and already sustained a larger population. The petition pressed the claims of Oneida County to the prize, emphasizing its central location and proximity to main lines of transportation. The Clintonians stressed not only that the Hamilton-Oneida Academy was the oldest institution in western New York, but that if any other location were chosen for a college, violent rivalries would break out among the communities vying for the honor. And finally, to scotch the possible objection that Clinton was too close to Union College, in Schenectady, it was stated that the nearness of one college to another was no new thing in America, and that in the past none had suffered from this cause. The wording of this petition indicated that the structure of a liberal arts college had already been decided on.1

The curricular emphasis changed radically and for reasons never satisfactorily explained the new college was now pro-

jected as a medical school. Several conjectures may be made, however. Utica was likely, in the view of its inhabitants, to became the leading city in western New York. There was a natural demand for doctors and for a medical school, particularly since the War of 1812 was on the horizon. As early as 1809, Noves, established on the faculty of the Fairfield Academy, wrote to Alexander that he had received a confidential message, "very important as it respects the Academy," from Dr. Amos G. Hull, the first president of the Medical Society of Oneida County and a member of the State Senate from 1810 to 1813. He was well-known locally for his invention of a special hernia truss which he advertised in the papers. Among his private students was Anson Jones who later became the President of the Republic of Texas. The message Noyes received from Hull was of such importance that he did not dare to commit it to paper. The gist of it, however, was that Hull was going to move to Utica and that "encouragement has been given that a lecturer on anatomy will go there." Noves had been invited to move and join Hull in establishing lectures in Utica which Hull pointed out was a better place than Fairfield "and that lectures would soon become very respectable and profitable." Hull was to lecture on physic and surgery, Dr. Jacobs on anatomy and Noves on chemistry. Nothing came of this proposal for the time being, but the fact that Noves and Alexander knew about the medical ambitions of the Oneida County people so early places their later actions in a more understandable perspective.

Another hint which indicates that the defection of Alexander and Noyes from Fairfield to the new college was the result of longer and more secretive planning than the published correspondence shows appears in December, 1811, a full month before the Fairfield authorities learned of their desertion. Dr. Shattuck wrote:

From what Gov. Tompkins said about Mr. Alexander during a short interview I had with him in company with Mr. Tiffany and Dr. Noyes at Albany on my return in December from Fairfield, I think he is desirous of seeing

him the president of a college. Policy may, however, prevent his lending his influence to effect it.²

The still unincorporated Clinton Board of Trustees, selected "from the most influential of all parties in Oneida County and the Western District," raided the neighboring Fairfield Academy like mercenaries, without warning and in the utmost secrecy. Months before a charter was granted, so certain were they of the outcome they elected Alexander as president, Noyes, Spalding and Willoughby as professors in the medical department "as at Fairfield" and Montague as tutor. And on January 14, the three members of the Fairfield faculty, Alexander, Montague and Noyes, openly moved over to the new college. The three thought to take Willoughby with them and hoped that Shattuck and Spalding would also go.

The joint resignation of Alexander and his fellows came as an entirely unexpected blow to Fairfield. It was handed in on January 15, the day that a new term opened, to Judge Nathan Smith, chairman of the Fairfield Board and himself a Regent, "without having previously given the least intimation to any person here of their intention." The action of Noyes and Montague did not raise so large a storm of disapproval as did that of Alexander. Of him Smith wrote:

The transaction on his part meets with the disapprobation and censure of every one. Had he given proper notice to the Trustees of his intention to resign, so that they could have had an opportunity to procure a successor in time to meet his departure, I should have attached no blame to him; the Trustees would not; he might have gone with Honor. But the step he has taken excites resentment in all. He will go, but he leaves not a friend behind. The procedure carries with it irresistible conviction, that with his secession, he meant to draw down inevitable ruin and destruction on this Institution. . . . They are going to Clinton Academy, the trustees of which have always considered us as their rivals, and who, it seems, despair of the success of their institution, except by the destruction of ours.³

After this debacle, Alexander went down to Albany to lobby for the Hamilton College charter. On February 6, Judge Smith wrote to Spalding from that city saying that the suporters of Fairfield were there "making every exertion in our power to improve the situation of our affairs" but that "Mr. Alexander is here, making all the opposition in his power."

Ten days later Shattuck told Spalding, both of whom were undecided about deserting the Fairfield Academy, that Noyes, who also was in Albany promoting the cause of the Clinton college, had just written him "dilating somewhat more on the proceedings of the Clintonians and Fairfieldians." Noyes said that more than \$12,000 had been subscribed for the Clinton college and that \$25,000 would probably ultimately be raised by subscription.

The efforts of the two rival institutions to acquire charters came to a head on March 5 when their petitions "which were read at a former meeting" and postponed for further consideration, "were referred to James Kent of New York, Abraham Van Vechten of Albany and Solomon Southwick of Albany." Five days later, on March 10, the committee reported in favor of Hamilton College and the Board "resolved that the Chancellor of the University be authorized to issue a charter establishing the said college by the name of Hamilton College whenever it shall appear satisfactorily to him that funds are procured for the said Institution which with those already provided shall amount to fifty thousand dollars."

Caleb Alexander's role in securing the charter cannot be underestimated. He "called on the Gov:, L't. Gov:, and other officers once, twice and sometimes three times a day, until . . . they must be a little fatigued, and will rejoice when the business is finished. . . ." For his efforts, he was cursed by the Fairfield suporters "by night and by day and . . . they will soon call on Hercules to help curse him." To this Noyes added an element of mystery. He said that Alexander was not disturbed by the attacks on him because he had "sufficient testimonials of his giving reasonable notice of his intention to leave them, unless they complied with his re-

quest."4

With the charter granted provisionally, the Legislature moved to allot public funds to the new college. Its supporters were hopeful of receiving as much as \$200,000 in state aid, "as the whole business is very popular with the Legislature, and people in general."⁵

On May 22, when the Regents met, the Chancellor reported the "schedule of subscription for the contemplated college at Paris [the township in which the village of Clinton was then located] in Oneida County which being considered by the Board of satisfactory compliance with the resolution heretofore passed on that subject and Mr. Chief Justice having reported the draft of a charter for the said college, Resolved that a charter issue accordingly."

The charter, signed by Daniel D. Tompkins, in his capacity as Chancellor, and by Francis Bloodgood, Secretary of the Board, was issued on May 26, 1812.

The following week, on June 4, the Chancellor was authorized to accept the surrender of the charter of the Hamilton-Oneida Academy when it had transferred its holdings to the new college. Two weeks later, on June 19, the Legislature passed an act for the endowment of the College, assigning to the new institution "bonds and mortgages executed to the people of this state for lands heretofore sold in the late Oneida reservation to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, including principal and interest now due thereon." The act also provided that "upon the payment of the interest due or to grow due on the said bonds and mortgages, at or before the expiration of one year after the same shall have become due, the payment of the principal shall not be demanded until the expiration of ten years from and after the passing of this act."

The College, therefore, started its career with a capital sum of \$100,000.

In the meantime, Fairfield had retrieved its fortunes to the extent of having a charter granted to it as a medical college with an endowment of \$10,000. Alexander, however, claimed that this charter had been granted "through misrepresentation," apparently meaning that the Regents had been assured

that Shattuck and Spalding would continue to teach at Fair-field. Alexander pointed out that the Trustees of Hamilton College were to meet on July 14 to elect Noyes, Spalding, Willoughby and Shattuck to the posts indicated at the beginning of the year. But at this point neither Spalding nor Shattuck had clearly made up his mind which way he would jump. It was clear that Judge Smith expected both men to continue at Fairfield. Despite all these confusions, Alexander maintained that medical lectures would unquestionably be given at Hamilton College when it opened that fall.

The Trustees of Hamilton College, in answer to a call dated June 19 and placed in the Utica Patriot and in the Columbian Gazette on June 23, held their first meeting on July 14 in the house of Abraham W. Sedgwick, Clinton inn-keeper. The Board was still, despite the liberal arts provisions of the charter, thinking of establishing a medical school. When, one week later, on July 21, they held their second meeting, with Henry Huntington, senior trustee, in the chair, a committee recommended that there be appointed immediately "professors of Chemistry and Mineralogy, of Surgery and Anatomy, of Institutes of Medicine, and of Obstetrics..."

The following day the list had been whittled down to the professorships of chemistry and mineralogy and of obstetrics, to which posts Dr. Josiah Noyes and Dr. Westel Willoughby were respectively elected. And a committee was appointed to confer with them on salaries, accommodations and other matters. This is the last official record for a number of years of a medical school at Hamilton College. On July 31 Shattuck wrote that "Hamilton College . . . concluded to dispense with the thought of building up a medical school, as an appendage of their University. So wrote Simeon Ford a Trustee of the College to Judge Smith." And Smith himself on August 10 wrote:

All idea of a Medical School is given up at Clinton. Whether Dr. Noyes [of whom Smith said that he had gone to Utica and into partnership with another physician] would come here again, if invited, I cannot say, but his

conduct has been such, and his stories so variant, that I conjecture, nothing but necessity would induce the Trustees to call him back.

Willoughby turned down the Hamilton offer and stayed at Fairfield, becoming a trustee of the newly-chartered medical college. In 1827, after serving as professor of obstetrics, he became president of the college and held the post until his death.

At the same meeting on July 21, the Hamilton Board, on motion of Joseph Kirkland, Samuel's nephew, unanimously elected Caleb Alexander president. On the same day, Alexander, notified of his appointment by a committee of the Board, wrote:

Having received by your committee, your Resolution of this date, informing me that you have unanimously appointed me President of Hamilton College, I do hereby express to you my sincere thanks for the honor bestowed on me. After maturely considering the subject, and reflecting on my own situation, as also that of my family, I believe it my duty under existing circumstances to decline accepting the appointment. . . .⁷

Whereupon the Board resolved:

that whereas the Rev. Caleb Alexander was this day appointed President of Hamilton College, and did thereupon decline accepting the said office, and this Board conceiving themselves justly indebted to said Alexander for his great and zealous exertions in procuring the Charter and funds of the College: to the end therefore that due compensation may be made to him in the premises; Resolved, that the Treasurer of the Board be directed to pay to the said Caleb Alexander the sum of one thousand five hundred dollars as soon as the same shall be received into the Treasury and within the period of six months, with interest from this date, and the further sum of five thousand dollars in five equal annual installments, to be computed from this day, with annual interest on the same. . . . 8

Of these proceedings, Judge Smith wrote from Fairfield on August 10:

Mr. Alexander is not President of Hamilton College. He was unanimously chosen, but declined this merely as a stipulation to save his reputation. But the thing is well understood; they, however, pay him the price of his bad faith to us. . . .9

On the same point, Henry Davis, the second president of the College to hold office, asked at a time when he was himself under attack and when he would know of the background from people intimately concerned with the affair if there was

not at least an understanding—if direct assurances were not given before his election—that he should receive \$6500 on condition that he would decline the office? Did not Mr. A. understand that on this condition he was to be elected, and that he could be elected on no other? Such has ever been my understanding of the facts and my information was from the best authorities.¹⁰

When Caleb Alexander had been offered and had refused the presidency of the College, he moved to Onondaga Hollow, near the present city of Syracuse, where he shortly established the Onondaga Academy and from time to time dunned the Hamilton Trustees for payment of the monies settled upon him.

Board and Buildings

The charter granted by the Regents followed a pattern common among American colleges since it was established in 1701 in Yale College. The unicameral governing Board of Trustees was composed of twenty-four men of substance from Clinton and the surrounding villages, all conservatives, engaged primarily in the ministry, law or business and leaning in their politics to the tenets of the moribund Federalist Party. Their roots were in New England: mainly in Connecticut. Their ties with Yale were strong: six of them were graduates of that college. It is no wonder that they selected a structure of government copied from the New Haven school or that, instead of honoring Kirkland, they retained the name of Hamilton for the institution under their charge.

From the Board flowed the authority of the president and the faculty. The government of the College was lodged firmly in the hands of the Trustees. The president, only later an ex officio member of the Board, held office during his good behavior. The faculty, on the other hand, stayed "at the will and pleasure of the said Board." Although the president and faculty were to have "immediate care of the education and government of the students," they were allowed little discretion in their task. The Board was to establish the "ordinances, rules and orders" governing admission and curriculum and to decide "what books shall be publicly read and taught . . . and for the better government of the said College, and of the President, Professors and Tutors, and Students thereof, as they, the said Trustees, think best for the general good of the same." Discipline was to be within the province of the Board: "every such ordinance, rule or order, whereby the punishment or expulsion, suspension, degradation, or public confession shall be inflicted on any student, shall be put in execution only by such major part of any thirteen or more of the said Trustees."

The stated purpose of the College was "for the instruction of youth, in the learned languages and liberal arts and science": nowhere is medical education referred to. The charter does not mention the Indians or their education: by 1812 they were no longer of significance in the region or in affairs of state. No organic connection with an established church was mentioned. It was expressly stipulated that no one could be excluded from the College "on account of his particular tenets in religion." The Board was authorized to "give and grant any such degree and degrees to all such persons thought by them worthy thereof, as are known to and usually granted by any University or college in Europe," a pattern accepted by Harvard a century and a half before.

The Board of Trustees, in short, was not only the fount of authority, but was to exercise its prerogatives minutely, delegating as little authority as possible to the president and faculty. A long and troublesome time was to elapse before the division of labor and responsibility between the Trustees and the teachers was more equitably divided.

Not until the second meeting of the Board was the question of the role of the president raised. Should this officer perform the executive duties of the college, or should the post be honorific, leaving the actual administration to a provost or vice-president, who would also "perform the principal labors of instruction"? If the first pattern was to be adopted, the presidential salary was to be \$1,500 with the use of a convenient house, garden and outhouses. By the second method, the president would get only \$750 per annum, and the provost \$1,400 plus the house. The Board decided on the former.

A committee of Messrs. Asahel Norton, Joseph Kirkland and John Hosmer Lothrop, all graduates of Yale, was appointed at the first meeting to select a "device proper for the Common Seal." Until this was decided, the seal of the Academy, a circular disk, one inch broad, with the letters

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HOA upon the face, was to be used.

The three men made four proposals:

1st The emblematical figure of Wisdom or Science, Minerva leading her votary up an eminence and pointing to the temple of Fame situated on the height; Motto, Scientae et Virtutes, Premium Splendidum; in the margin of the seal the words Collegii Hamiltoniensis Sigillum, Fundatum MDCCCXII. 2nd the same figure crowning one of her sons in the vestibule of the Temple of Fame with her appropriate wreath, the words Lux et Veritas entwined in the wreath; same motto, same margin. 3rd an appropriate figure raising a veil from the vision of a noviciate, with the finger of her right hand resting on the book of Knowledge open, and pointing to the words "Lux et Veritas" written therein; motto in Greek characters "Gnothi Seauton"; same margin. 4th Or the figure of a celestial being, raising a veil in the same manner, pointing to the words "Gnothi Seauton" written in Greek characters in the open Book of Knowledge; motto, "Lege, Prodesse et Conspici," same margin; Seal to be 21/4 inches in diameter.

The following morning, the Board settled on this description:

The emblematical figure of a Celestial Being or angel, raising a veil from the vision of pupil or novitiate with the left hand, and the finger of the right hand resting on the book of Knowledge open, and pointing to the words "Lux et Veritas," written therein; Motto, "ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ," in the margin "Collegii Hamiltonensis Sigillum, Fundatum MDCCCXII." the size to be of the diameter of two & half inches.

Messrs. Thomas Ruggle Gold, Jonas Platt and Morris Scott Miller were authorized to procure this design and to make any unessential alteration that seemed necessary. The device was made by Gideon Fairman of Albany who, on

March 15, 1813, received \$138 for his work.

The buildings which the new College had inherited from the Academy consisted of "Kirkland's Folly," still unfinished, and the boardinghouse, a stone's throw away. The wooden academy building, measuring 88 by 42 feet, three stories high, contained twenty rooms each 16 feet square, a large arched schoolroom on the second floor running across the south end and measuring 42 by 22 feet, and a library and apparatus room. At its second meeting the Board decided that the large assembly room should be completed: that two additional stacks of chimneys should be built; that the whole should be painted and whitewashed; that the underpinning be repaired; the staircases removed and placed in the halls running across the building; and the other halls be converted into closets or bedrooms; that two of the rooms be converted into one, to accommodate a professor of chemistry "if necessary"—all at a cost of approximately \$575. When the refurbishing was completed, there were rooms for fourteen students and the schoolroom had become the chapel. At the time of its early meetings, the Board intended to maintain the academy boardinghouse to lodge the students and sought to find a man and wife to operate it in that capacity.

The two buildings stood in a clearing of several acres, studded with the stumps of trees recently felled. A country lane, little better than the Indian path it replaced, ran up the Hill to the College from the village of Clinton toward the region where the old castles of the Oneidas stood. A sidewalk was not authorized until September, 1813. To the west and north was a growth of ragged trees and underbrush, set in marshy ground. There were no trees or shrubs in front of the buildings. Just west of the College there were two or three small farmhouses. The north road, now Campus Road, ran at right angles from College Hill beside the boardinghouse to the Genesee Road.

The surroundings into which the first classes came in 1812 and 1813 were crude and primitive. A graduate of those days described the campus in these words:

In 1813, the visible property of this College consisted of "the grounds," the old Academy building (containing fourteen students' rooms) a laboratory and a chapel, the President's house in the east corner of the grounds . . . and the Commons Hall (now the cabinet), with long woodsheds extending from the two ends, and ornamented at their extremities by brick water-closets of simple architectural design. In front, along the west side of the road leading north, was a very plain, feeble, white paling, with gates used principally for the purpose of slamming, swinging and lifting.¹

Directly across the road lay Lee's tavern. Samuel Kirkland had on May 13, 1799, deeded 75 acres to William Pixley Curtiss for \$590. Curtiss, shortly before 1800, had built what today is the rear portion of the Root Art Center, a property he retained until November 5, 1803, when he sold the house and 98½ acres to Elisha Lee, Jr., for \$2,500. The following year, Lee, an innkeeper from Lyme, Connecticut, added the larger front section of the building to Curtiss' smaller house, setting up a hostelry. To undertake the construction he employed master carpenter Isaac Williams, later Deacon of Clinton's Congregational Society. Williams' work on this and other houses on the Hill testifies to his sense of uncluttered style and lasting craftsmanship.

On the south side of the Hill road, below Lee's tavern, to the foot of the Hill, was only the small house afterward occupied by Dr. Josiah Noyes. On the opposite side were the little unpainted tenement of Caesar, the Negro janitor, the ancient house owned by the Anderson family and another dwelling and shoeshop owned by the Powells. Between the foot of the Hill and the village green there were probably not more than a dozen houses. To the east across Campus Road were rough pasture lands. The new college was set in unadorned territory, not far removed from its original state under the rule of the Indians.

The Last of the Academy

During the months of 1812 when the new college was being organized, the old Hamilton-Oneida Academy, now flourishing with an enrollment of more than fifty, was continued. It ended its existence under its original name on September 15, 1812. On the afternoon of that day, four of its students were examined as candidates for admission to the sophomore class of Hamilton College. At its second meeting, the Board of the College accepted responsibility for the Academy's continuance, under the direction of a college tutor. This turned out to be Joseph Montague, who had deserted Fairfield Academy to come to Clinton. The students were to be taught "only . . . the preparatory studies requisite for admission into the Freshman class of College": the school was considered a useful reservoir of Hamilton matriculants. At this point the Board considered that it might have to appoint two tutors to the faculty, or one professor and one tutor who would conduct the school. The care of the two institutions proved too much for the Board, especially after Montague left in March, 1813, and the school was neglected. The following year, however, at its May meeting, the Board abortively voted to appoint an instructor to teach the Academy pupils at a school in the village. The action was apparently forced on them by the citizens of Clinton who, on January 26, 1814, had presented a petition protesting the Board's lack of interest. They asserted that the village had in no small measure contributed funds for the Academy, funds now incorporated in those of the College, and that later they had "with a liberality far beyond their circumstances," raised \$14,000 for the College itself.1 Not until 1815 however did the Board

return to the matter. Then, in response to another protesting petition, it reaffirmed its responsibility, and considered diverting existing bonds to build a new schoolhouse in the village. It was their thought that the tuition received from the students, of whom almost half were preparing for entrance into college, would pay the salary of the teacher.

The histories of the College and the Academy diverge at about this time. The Trustees took no further action and the citizens of Clinton sought to raise \$3,000 to erect a new building. So much, however, had been contributed to the College that the attempt was unsuccessful. In 1815, despairing of help from the College, they organized a stock company, whose members were to own the property and to receive dividends from the rent of building and grounds, hopefully to the extent of fifteen per cent.

Subscriptions amounting to \$2,000, the estimated cost of the building, were gathered and a brick building erected. Despite the hopes of the contributors, no dividends were ever declared. While the new building was being acquired, the school was maintained on the second story of a building on the village green, later used by Othniel Williams, Treasurer of the College, as a law office—the first story being a cabinet shop. There for a time the Reverend Comfort Williams, assisted by Moses Bristol, taught. The following year the school was moved to a building on College Street where the teacher was William Groves, one of the two members of the first class to receive degrees from Hamilton College. The next year it moved again, school being kept by George Bristol. Mark Hopkins, later President of Williams College, was a pupil at this time. In the fall of 1816 it occupied the brick building on the "Flats" at the foot of the Hill under the direction of the Reverend Joel Bradley, who after a year or two was succeeded by the Reverend William R. Weeks. On March 28, 1817, it was incorporated by the State Legislature and on February 26, 1828, recognized by the Regents which entitled it to aid from the State's Literature Fund. It was at this time a coeducational school, in which the girls were taught successively by Mary Hayes, Mary Heywood, Julia Hayes and Delia Strong. Weeks taught there until 1820,

when he was succeeded by Charles Avery, a former student recently graduated from the College. He was followed in September, 1822, by Orlando Kirtland. From 1825 to 1826, Isaac Wilmarth was principal and then Joseph S. Bosworth. In 1866 the grammar school ceased to exist in name, and was continued by the high school in the same building—for the high school building, in existence earlier, had burned that spring. The girls' department was incorporated as a separate institution in 1881.

Getting Under Way

The College's Board now faced the task of choosing another president in place of Alexander. They selected the Reverend Samuel Miller, pastor of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church in New York City. He was married to a second cousin of the missionary John Sergeant, whose relations with Samuel Kirkland had for so many years been strained. Miller did not accept the call—the Board had adjourned until August 25, 1812, to await his answer. Instead he became Professor of Church History and Government at the Princeton Theological Seminary, an institution he had helped to found. Later he was made a trustee of Columbia College and of the College of New Jersey and a president of the New York Bible Society.

When the Board, on August 25, heard of Miller's rejection of its offer, it next turned to William Johnson, the law reporter of the State Supreme Court. At the same time they raised the salary of the president to \$1,800, with the use of a house, garden and outhouses—a very generous remuneration for the period, had it always been paid on time. When Johnson was being considered for the post, the Trustees, anxious that the religious side of the College should not be neglected if they had to have a lay president, elected Asahel S. Norton, the village pastor, as professor of theology. This appointment lapsed when Johnson refused the post.

The Board did not act formally upon its next choice until its fourth meeting, September 28, even though the date for the opening of college had been set for October 22, less than a month away. They named Azel Backus as president.

A Congregational minister, a strong anti-Jeffersonian-six

years before coming to Clinton he had been indicted for libeling the President—and a successful disciplinarian, Backus was forty-seven years of age. He had been brought up on a farm, suffering from the ministrations of a dissolute stepfather who, as Backus bitterly put it, taught him only to steal hop poles. Coming under the influence of a benign uncle, he graduated high in his class from Yale in 1787 and taught school in Wethersfield, Connecticut, before taking over the Congregational Church at Bethlehem, Connecticut, as successor to the famous Joseph Bellamy. He held this pastorate for twenty-two years, an ardent supporter of the "New Lights"-and also conducted a successful school for what would now be called maladjusted boys, before being dismissed to take the presidency of Hamilton College. He was a well-known man, had been elected Moderator of the General Association of Congregational Churches, and was noted for his pungent sermons. He did not hold the reputation of being an outstanding intellectual, and he took more than a clergyman's usual interest in social affairs. He was vigorous, bluff and in person corpulent, even fat-his sleigh had an extra wide opening for his convenience—his appearance inevitably drew forth puns linking him and Dionysus. It would seem that a better choice could hardly have been made for the position, for his popularity among the students, based on no weak familiarity, is evidenced by the multitude of alumni anecdotes about his sympathy, wit and absence of pomposity.

Moving to select the faculty and dropping all their previous ideas of instruction in the medical arts, the Trustees elected to the position of professor of the learned languages, at a salary of \$750 a year, Seth Norton, the principal of the Academy. The same remuneration was given to the professor of chemistry, Josiah Noyes, late of Fairfield Academy. Joseph Montague, who had accompanied Noyes to Clinton, became tutor at \$400 a year.

In the meantime, the Board was setting about the arrangements for opening "the ensuing autumn." The date was Thursday, October 22, and the public was notified through the local newspapers; but because the renovation of the old

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Academy building was not completed, classes did not commence until November 1, 1812. President Backus was not present at the opening. He arrived in Clinton on November 23, living for the time being in the village. Shortly after his arrival he dined with the students, some fifteen or twenty in number, at the public boardinghouse where he was welcomed by a committee of undergraduates. He was inaugurated as President on December 3 and delivered an inaugural address in English, accompanied by an address in Latin by Seth Norton. Backus set a tone of conservatism and of traditional education, as is evidenced by this extract from his speech:

Man in his present fallen state, can be governed in two ways only; by persuasion and force. By religious influence, moral habits, and intellectual improvement; or by despotism. Despotism, under every name and form, I abhor. The empire of laws I revere and love. Having watched the progress of the American revolution and independence from their cradle. I have adopted all the maxims of Washington's policy as my own. His parting address constitutes my political Bible. My religious opinions are expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith; but while I am a believer in the revealed doctrines usually denominated evangelical, I am not wise in metaphysical reasonings above what is written. While somewhat tenacious of my own opinions, I hope in God, that I am not disposed to persecute those who differ from me, or to become a party president of a college. I prefer useful and solid science to that which is speculative and superficial; the improvements of common sense to the vagaries of theorists.

Mere science, without moral and religious habits, is a curse, and not a blessing to the community. Better for a youth, and for civil society, that he had lived in ignorance, than that he should issue from a college with irreligious and immoral principles. Such as contract vicious habits in an Academic course are more dangerous than madmen, armed with instruments of death, and let loose among the defenceless inhabitants of a village. Let it never be imagined then that the sole object of education is to make

youth acquainted with languages, sciences and arts.... An attention to order and the early formation of habits of industry and investigation, I venture to assert are of more importance than mere knowledge.... The great thing is to inure the youthful mind to patient and intense application. The mind acquires strength and vigor from exercise as well as the body; and the languages and the higher branches of mathematics are principally useful in this respect... May the Good Lord of our land deliver our youth from that light reading, and gaseous information which require no thinking....¹

The Board placed the date of commencement on the third Thursday in September, dividing the college year in three terms, an economical timetable which was to survive for a hundred years. One vacation was to occur immediately after commencement in September and was to last for four weeks. The autumn term of thirteen weeks was to be followed by a second holiday of six weeks. The second thirteen-week term was to precede a three-week vacation, to be followed by a term of similar length, ending at commencement.

A committee of the Board, together with members of the faculty, examined and admitted the first students on the three days preceding the opening of the College. The entrance requirements for the freshmen were declared to be an ability to read, construe and parse Virgil's Aeneid, Cicero's Select Orations and the Greek Testament. Each boy in addition was to have learned English grammar and vulgar arithmetic—requirements which were more or less standard for all the existing colleges. The Trustees made it clear that

less attention will be paid to the quantity read, than to the manner in which it has been read; and whether the student shall have read less of the books prescribed or other books in the Latin and Greek languages will not be considered material, if he understands those languages sufficiently to go on with his class.

For admission to the three advanced classes the Board merely

stipulated that "the Student shall generally be examined in those studies in which Students are usually examined for admission to the same Classes in Colleges of the first standing in the United States." Each student, however, was to present satisfactory testimonials of a good moral character.

Tuition was set at six dollars payable at the start of each term. However, the economics of inflation set in quickly, and in May, 1814, the Board was forced to raise fees to \$30 a year. In September, 1815, it was decided that the charge for a master's degree should be \$5. A year later, the tuition for juniors and seniors was raised to \$13 a term.

In the beginning the students had no central place to eat. It was not until November 24, after the college had opened, that the Board appropriated \$3,500 for "a Dining Hall, a Kitchen and necessary outhouses for the Steward." This structure, now Buttrick Hall, built of stone quarried on a farm to the west of the campus and with the sand for its mortar carted from Oneida Lake, was completed the following summer. In the meantime, the students boarded in the village or at the houses of neighboring farmers. The new T-shaped building, quickly and derisively nicknamed the "Banqueting Hall," was one story high to the east and two to the west, its deep walls covered with red stucco. Contemporary though unverified accounts tell of its being flanked by long white colonnades. Wooden steps from the dirt road led to two heavy front doors which gave into the refectory, a high-ceilinged room which stretched some sixty feet across the front. The ample fireplaces at each end did not adequately serve their primary purpose, and shortly Russian stoves, large ovenlike piles of plastered brick, took their place. After a time one of these ceased to function and the two were replaced in 1817 by substantial iron heaters. The kitchens were in the brick-floored basement and were equipped with a large Dutch oven which survived into the twentieth century. Women from the village prepared the meals which cost the students \$1.50 a week.

When the Board had selected Azel Backus to be president it had promised him, in addition to a salary of \$1,800 a year, the use of a house; but they found no suitable place for him

and his family near the College or in Clinton. When the brusque and portly divine was joined in Clinton on February 13, 1813, by his wife and furniture—the latter undamaged save for two chairs broken at a turnpike—he occupied a village house, now unidentified, which the College had rented for \$156.53 from Orrin Gridley, later a Trustee. To solve the problem of a presidential mansion, the College turned to the two-story boardinghouse on the campus which had been erected in 1802. In May, 1813, they appropriated \$1,000 to renovate it for the Backus family.

The early faculty was small. Its ranking member was Seth Norton, who now quickly won the reputation of being an "accurate and finished scholar, apt to teach," and respected, even loved by his students. His personal appearance, according to one account, was not pleasing, for he had a sallow complexion, jerky manners and spoke rapidly and abruptly. He was particularly fond of music, was himself a good singer, and served as chorister for many years in his brother's church.²

The professor of chemistry, Josiah Noyes, was described as a man "of easy nature and pacific disposition." He had been graduated from Dartmouth College in 1801, where he was a classmate of Daniel Webster. He lived halfway down the Hill on land originally bought in 1799 from Samuel Kirkland by John Niles, the first principal of the Academy. Shortly after his arrival in Clinton, he built a house on the site of the present Huntington House, and used the original Niles frame cottage as a laboratory and workshop. He eked out his small salary by taking in boarders, principally students, who remembered Mrs. Noyes and her ministrations with affection. Noyes remained on the faculty until 1830, when according to one story his resignation was forced because of intemperance.

Noyes' official laboratory was located in a room beneath the Chapel in the original Academy building. There he welcomed lady visitors from the village to his lectures. From comments by his students in their later years, it is clear that he was not the best teacher; nor were his experiments always successful, but this may have been because his apparatus

was limited and imperfect, and his laboratory "small, unpleasant, unconvenient and miserably furnished."³

Montague, who had accompanied Noyes from Fairfield, did not last long. He was appointed to a tutorship at \$400 a year on September 28, 1812, but had left the College and his job as teacher at the grammar school by March 3, 1813. On that date his successor, James Dean, Jr., started teaching even though his official appointment by the Board was not verified until May 13. Dean, an accomplished classical and English scholar, graduated at Union College in 1810 with the highest honors in his class. He was the son of James Dean, the Indian agent, who had been a trustee of the Academy and later became treasurer of the College. Tutor Dean was considered to be "preeminently the Gentleman" of the early faculty. However, he resigned his position on September 13, 1814, and became a lawyer in neighboring Westmoreland where he died in 1841.

A month after the College had opened, the last member of the initial faculty was appointed to teach mathematics and natural philosophy. He was Theodore Strong. The first of the true scholars on the faculty, a member of the Class of 1812 at Yale who had been recommended to President Backus for the job by President Dwight of that institution. Known as "Uncle Ted" to the students, he was admired for his learning but was apparently more interested in research than in teaching. His reputation quickly spread beyond the area and in 1825 and 1826 he was invited to join the faculty of Queens College (later Rutgers) in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He also received bids from Columbia College and the University of Pennsylvania. He rejected them all. In 1827, during the lowest ebb of the College's fortunes, he was again invited to Queens and accepted, serving there until his retirement. His treatise on elementary and higher algebra, published in 1859, made him famous and he was one of the original members of the National Academy of Arts and Science.

On November 24, at its fifth meeting, the Board formed a committee of Platt, Kirkland and Nathan Williams to confer with the president and faculty on a code of laws for the College, an elaboration on the rules adopted earlier by the Trustees themselves. This was published in 1813, printed by Ira Merrell in Utica. The laws were extremely detailed, as was customary at the time, and gave no one connected with the College much elbow room. The government of the College was vested in the president and faculty, according to the charter and rules established by the Board. The maintenance of discipline was theoretically lodged with the faculty, in which the president was only *primus inter pares*.

No freshman was to be admitted until he had completed his fourteenth year and the admission requirements were similar to those of other colleges of the period. Each candidate was to stand examination by the President or members of the faculty, had to post bond for payment of his bills and to "produce satisfactory evidence of a blameless life and conversation." Provision was made for transfer from other colleges and for admission with advanced standing. Any student not hailing from the vicinity of the College was under the guardianship of a member of the faculty who alone could give him permission to incur debts. The classes were designated as freshmen, sophomores, junior sophisters and seniors sophisters, a terminology which survived until 1840. If any student married during his "pupilage," he had to leave.

The role of the faculty was paternalistic in the extreme: all the students' waking hours were under close supervision. Chapel attendance twice a day was mandatory, with the president and the faculty conducting the services and monitors to take attendance. Each evening there was a bed-check.

The curriculum covered the three learned languages, the liberal arts and sciences, and the whole course of academic literature. Student comment was that "Our time was occupied chiefly in the study of Greek and Latin languages, and mathematics." The senior class was, as in other colleges, to be the special responsibility of the president—"On Monday morning in the senior year, we received moral and religious instructions from the president, during the short time he remained with us, using Vincent's Catechism as a textbook. . . ."4 In cases where the Board had not been specific,

the president, with the advice of the faculty, was to lay out the course of studies. The professor of chemistry, however, was directed by the Board to deliver three lectures a week to the junior and senior classes. This rule evoked from the students the first of their remonstrances against the regulations of the faculty and the Trustees:

The by-laws . . . provided that the junior class should have a part of their time for attending the lectures and experiments in the laboratory. It was found we could not do this if the class studied fluxions. These it was decided we must study, and omit chemistry. Against this decision the class, one or two only dissenting, remonstrated and resolved to have the benefit of the lectures and experiments as prescribed in the by-laws; and, in the event of being denied this privilege, to leave the College. The class appointed two of its members to present their determination to a meeting of the faculty, called at their request in relation thereunto. The result of the meeting . . . was that they were excused from studying fluxions and permitted to attend chemistry. . . . The demands of the class, it is true, were not fully and directly granted, but we were positively assured, if we returned to our studies and recitations, there should be no future cause for complaint. Probably this combination could never have been formed, with so great unanimity as it was, if the conviction had not fastened itself to the minds of many members of the class that advantage was being taken, by some of the tutors, of the easy nature and pacific disposition of Dr. Noves, so as to leave him and his field of operations out of sight, or not duly respected.5

Changes in curricular arrangements could be made by the prudential or executive committee of the Board, subject to review by the full body at their next meeting. In addition to these generalities, the exact courses of study for the four classes was given in great detail and the final examination period for the seniors set for the fourth Wednesday in July. This examination could be attended by outside examiners—

"other gentlemen of a liberal education"—in addition to the faculty.

The laws reaffirmed three vacation periods each year: four weeks immediately after Commencement; six weeks following the second Wednesday in January and three weeks from the Wednesday immediately preceding the second Thursday in May. During these periods, no students could stay in the College without permission from the president. Violations drew a fine of twenty cents a day. Late return at the end of the holidays was penalized by a fine of fifty cents a day or by admonition.

The use of the library, the museum, the laboratory and commons was subject to rules laid down by the president and the prudential committee, save in cases where the Board as a whole acted. Damages, "except by the inevitable providence of God," were to be paid by all the students up to \$3.33, except when the principal offenders were known. To ascertain such charges three faculty inspectors were to be appointed.

Students were forbidden, under penalty of expulsion, to blaspheme, rob, fornicate, steal, forge, duel, or assault, wound or strike the president or members of the faculty. Fighting, quarreling, challenging, the uttering of turbulent words or behavior, fraud, lying, defamation or any such like crimes, were punishable by fine, admonition or in other ways. Billiards, cards, dice, backgammon and drinking within two miles of the campus were unlawful: violators became subject to rustication, suspension or being sent home.

The first expulsion under these laws occurred on June 20, 1814. On that day, Charles E. Ford, a member of the sophomore class from Ogdensburg, New York, who later became a lawyer, was dismissed by the unanimous vote of the faculty. His offenses: drunkenness, fraud and lying, frequenting taverns, and keeping low and vulgar company. He took money sent to Professor Norton, his patron on the faculty, to pay bills incurred in "rioting from town to town," and in addition misappropriated eleven dollars and several pairs of shoes sent by a very poor man of Ogdensburg for the aid of his family in Watertown.⁶

Lotteries were forbidden the students, an odd double standard, since the College was soon to gain materially by the same means.

These laws, applicable also during vacation time, were termed "few and general." Cases not expressly provided for were to be dealt with by the faculty on their demerits. A graduate wrote later that the code was not closely followed:

I am sure that there was some quarreling, striking, fighting, a good many turbulent words, much turbulent behavior, that some windows were broken, that some bombs were blown up with a view of starting doors and locks; that the prayer bell would not always ring, having lost its clapper, or having been turned downside up, and filled with water which became ice; that sheep and calves were introduced into the chapel, and conducted to the professors' seats; that tables with all that they could hold of provisions and crockery were upset in the hall, and that noises as of a battle or an earthquake, were heard in the night; all of which was in palpable violation of the code.⁷

Commencement was now settled on the third Wednesday of September, and candidates for the bachelor's degree had to be back in residence on the preceding Friday. The conferment of a master's degree was provided for, and the four-dollar fee charged for any degree was considered a perquisite of the president.

Student Life

When the boardinghouse was perforce turned over to President Backus for his official residence, work on the new Commons had to be rushed forward. The dining hall had been authorized in November, 1812, but was not ready for the students until well into the following year. In accordance with its intention of keeping a firm and close grip upon the happenings at the College, the Board on May 15, 1813, detailed the diet of the students:

Plain, simple, and neat cookery will be insisted on as indispensible, and the following bill of fare so arranged as to produce as great variety as possible: for breakfast, coffee, soochong and hyson skin tea, chocolate shells, and milk, hot rolls and butter, plain toast, buckwheat and Indian cakes and cheese; no meat. Dinner: roast, boiled, fried, fricaseed, and broiled fresh meats, salt meats once a week, soups twice a week, salt or fresh fish on Saturdays, with an abundant supply of every description of vegetables the country produces, plain rice, flour, Indian buckwheat, and bread pudding, baked and boiled. Supper: tea, chocolate shells, and milk; toasted dry bread, biscuit, rusk, plain cakes, and cheese: no butter or meats. . . . Each table at dinner shall be furnished with at least two dishes of meats and vegetables, and other things in proportion, and at all meals as much alike and in as equal a manner as possible.1

All this for \$1.50 a week, payable to Abraham W. Sedgwick who operated the inn in the village where the Trustees held their meetings. Then as later, the undergraduates com-

plained about the food which indeed varied from the decreed menu. Actual servings as recorded by a student were:

Breakfast Thursday morning; Coffee, then trimmings comprised of basted meat, Ham, or Steak as may be the most convenient.

Dinner—at midday: Roast meat & pudding sweetened, without butter, vegetables &c.

For supper, tea or milk, bread and butter.

Friday morning breakfast called for tea, hashed meat with bread & butter.

Dinner was Soup with butter to eat with bread.

Supper-Tea as on Thursday.

On Saturday morning there was coffee, hashed meat & c. Dinner consisted of Boiled meat with Pudding & butter. Supper is merely listed as tea &c.

Sabbath morn. Tea broiled meat &c. For dinner cold meat left from Saturday, Butter &c. With supper again listed as Tea &c.

To begin the week breakfast consisted of coffee, hot rolls & butter.

Dinner was roast meat & pudding but no butter. And supper again Tea &c.

Tuesday morning breakfast was tea and hashed meat &c. With dinner being soup &c.²

Here the MS ends.

The only bright spots of the diet were that for dinner half a pint of cider was allotted at each plate, or small beer. Cheese was also added to the dinner table "when convenient." Despite the fact that the College decreed expulsion for disorderly conduct, the students supplemented their regular meals by smuggling large quantities of provisions into pockets, bags and hats, to be consumed at midnight picnics in the dormitories.

The students also had access to the Buttery—a room in the north corner basement of the Commons Hall, where raisins, almonds, nuts, apples, crackers, stationery, beer and cider were for sale. Here no student was allowed to incur an in-

debtedness of more than five dollars a term without the special permission of his parent or guardian. (In September, 1815, the Board issued a statement in the local papers requesting that neighboring shopowners not extend any credit to the undergraduates.) The Buttery, open for one hour after the evening meal, was in charge of needy students, one of whom, Stephen W. Taylor, was the valedictorian of the Class of 1817, and a strict teetotaler who afterward, from 1851 to 1856, served as president of the neighboring Madison University, later Colgate University, In May, 1818, shortly after President Davis had succeeded Azel Backus, the Buttery was abolished. Since the treasurer's reports of the period indicate that it alone of all the College's auxiliary enterprises was not operating at a loss, it can only be assumed that Davis, an austere man, frowned upon this institution in principle.

The Board, intrigued by minutiae, also stipulated the furnishings of Commons: painted tables set without cloths; the tops white, edged with blue and treated with copal varnish; the stands and seats of dark chocolate. In these surroundings all the students ate, sitting by class, with only ten at a table, and facing inward. The two monitors who headed each table were required to report unseemly conduct to the ranking member of the faculty, most of whom also ate in Commons. Hamilton had been open for less than a year when an increase in the cost of living obliged the College to supplement the salaries of the tutors by allowing them to board free in the dining hall.

The Trustees, feeling no doubt that the ending of classes called for a major celebration on the part of the faculty and students alike, provided for a "galaxy dinner" each term, which cost an additional fifty cents a head. The idea was not popular enough to solidify into tradition, and after a year's trial the custom was abolished in September, 1814.

The students' accommodations, to which they were assigned by the faculty, were quite indifferent for several years. Too many were frequently crowded into one room, despite a rule limiting the number to three. According to one account, "Quarters were assigned to me in the northwest

corner-room, first floor, already occupied by [three other students]—a family of four in one compressed apartment, with two closets annexed, called bedrooms. Most of the rooms, for which each boy had to furnish his own bed, furniture, firewood and candles, did not exclude the winter's cold or the summer's heat; and, at times, severely taxed their tenants' powers of endurance. The description of another room read:

it was furnished in the most primitive manner. There were two or three pine or cherry desks or tables; perhaps half a dozen wooden-bottomed chairs, with a pail, a basin or two, and two or three tumblers in a cupboard. There was no carpet-indeed there was not a carpet in the College except in Professor Norton's room. Our door opened into an entry ventilated by a large outside door, which was generally open for the free admission of wind, rain and snow. That corner received the concentrated power of all the west and northwest winds; and my impression is that we never suffered anything resembling the modern contrivances for imperfect ventilation, and the exclusion of oxygen from the atmosphere. The room was warmed by a wood fire in a large open fireplace, and this was the method of warming every other room. There was not a stove in the building. We, and a large number of the students, brought our firewood in our arms, from the woodshed. This, with some other simple practices, prevented the necessity of a gymnasium. . . . At the breaking up of our family arrangements in the corner, I was sent to a room with one chum. Our beds were in a shallow recess formed by the jutting of the chimney. There was a large dark closet intended for a bedroom, but that was occupied by rats, who furiously disputed possession with all comers. We yielded at once. They made nightly excursions, in military array, into our premises, carefully examining our beds and our clothing, especially our boots and shoes, hovering around the fireplace.4

Even before the college opened, it was apparent that an-

other dormitory would be needed. In September, 1812, the Trustees authorized the expenditure of \$9,000 (later increased to \$12,500, more than ten per cent of the book value of the endowment) for Hamilton Hall, situated where South College now stands. This structure was four stories high, and measured 90 by 48 feet. It was ready for occupancy in 1814 and held classrooms as well as comfortable student quarters which were "cool in summer and warm in winter." It was decorated under the eastern eaves with a wooden bust of Alexander Hamilton and a large gilded eagle. Some years later, the lines of Hamilton Hall were simplified to ensure a uniformity along the front of the College, and the bust was thrown down unwanted. It ended up in a student bonfire.

The few classrooms were ill-equipped. There were, for example, no blackboards, and the students were forced to memorize the printed statements from Simpson's *Euclid* instead of actually seeing the figures in question. A globe or two constituted the remaining apparatus, while the laboratory held only a few tubes, blowpipes, retorts, receivers and an air-pump.

The daily routine was strenuous, judging from the memories of men fifty years after their graduation.

We were expected to rise in the morning, summer and winter, at half-past five o'clock, attend prayers in the chapel at six, when Dr. Backus always, if at home, officiated; then came morning recitations until seven o'clock.

The services of the day, in the winter, commenced by prayers in the chapel at six o'clock, and often in an atmosphere in which the polar bears would have enjoyed themselves; then to recitation by (tallow) candlelight, and in an atmosphere a very few degrees above that of the chapel; and then to breakfast in the commons hall, which there was an attempt to warm by two large oven-like piles of brick (one at each end), plastered over, and called Russian stoves. . . . 5

In summer the chapel was pleasant enough, but in winter it was cold. . . . The president frequently preached in overcoat and mittens. Sometime during my college course

a small stove was put up there, which served to prevent frost. At twelve o'clock we had a cold dinner and were then obliged in summer, to walk through the heat and dust, and in winter to wade through the snow, to the old meeting-house on the green in the village. . . . We had seats in the gallery, where, sometimes, we suffered severely with the cold. . . .

Recitations came again at 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. Every student was required to be in his room during study hours, and if found elsewhere, he received a reprimand on the spot.⁶

Each class had its monitor, whose duty it was to notice if any member was absent from prayers, or religious services on the Sabbath. For these offenses the delinquents were required to answer, once a week, before the whole student body in the Chapel. Great ingenuity was displayed in forming excuses for neglect of duty, and it was often the occasion for much merriment to those who were only listeners. The Board made early arrangements for the students to attend divine services on Sundays in the Congregational Church in Clinton, which through most of the nineteenth century remained so closely linked to the College as to be a part of it.

In 1796, the Clinton Congregation had decided that it was numerous enough to build a church in the village. The log building on the green in which services had been held since 1792 was torn down and a white clapboard meetinghouse erected "in the style of architecture then common in the rural parts of New England." It stood upon a knoll some ten or twelve feet higher than the present level of the village park, facing south. It was about sixty-five feet long, and forty-eight broad, with a square tower projecting half its depth in front, surmounted by an open belfry and a turret."

The interior had three uncarpeted aisles, and square, high-back pews painted blue without and unpainted within. Of it Henry Pitkin Norton, Class of 1828, wrote:

In those old-style square pews one-third of the hearers presented shoulders to the preacher, another backs, and the rest faces. The choir sat on three sides of the parallelogram-shaped gallery: the tenor and "second" in front, the bass on the right, and the "treble" on the left looking from the pulpit, the leading singers holding central places in their lines, and the chorister directly in front of the "minister." . . . In the north part of the bass singers' seat a space was devoted to the "very grave and reverend" seniors. The other students had places in the four-sided pews against the outer wall in the gallery, separated from the bass line by an alley. Here the young gentlemen were accustomed to leave marked proof of highest skill in the use of the pencil. . . . The circular box which enclosed the "minister" was attained by a long flight of stairs, and from it the occupant literally "looked down upon" his flock on the main floor, while his head was level with the front row in the gallery.8

The first College bell (which the Trustees had authorized at their second meeting and which weighed not more than two hundred pounds) was a very small affair, scarcely audible in the different rooms of the building, and not very sonorous in the open air. "I didn't hear the bell," was a plausible excuse for sleepy boys at 5:30 in the morning. Dr. Backus received this apology for some time, and finally confessed he could not blame the offenders much, adding the oft-repeated saying, "The bell is no better than a fur cap, with a lamb's tail for a clapper." This bell, made by one Hanks, a bell-founder of Troy, New York, cost \$123.63 but, so straitened were the College finances, that it was not paid for until 1817, after numerous dunnings.

The Backus Era

The first class to be graduated from Hamilton consisted of only two young men who received their degrees at Commencement on September 21, 1814. Neither was required to speak, for President Backus opposed a formal ceremony, saying: "It would be too much like a young rooster flying upon the fence, flapping his wings and trying to crow, before he could get his throat open." One of the two, George Albion Calhoun, born in 1788 in Washington, Connecticut, had been brought up on a farm where his education was neglected. He was twenty-two years old before he began the study of Latin. At twenty-four he entered the junior class at Williams College, whence he transferred to the same class at Hamilton. After his graduation, he spent more penurious years at the Andover Seminary and in 1819 became minister of a church in North Coventry, Connecticut. In 1849 he became one of the Fellows of Yale College. Three years later his alma mater granted him a D.D. He died in 1867, at the age of seventy-eight.

His classmate, William Groves, born in Brimfield, Massachusetts, in 1788, a member of the Class of 1813 at Union College, transferred in his junior year to Hamilton. After his graduation he was preceptor for a year of the Clinton village school, having Mark Hopkins as one of his students. He then studied law in Utica under Erastus Clark, the secretary of the College's Board, and practiced for several years in Rochester. A little later he combined his practice with farming at Clarkson, New York, and in 1846 he moved to Alexandria, Louisiana, where he died in 1867.

In September, 1814, Josiah Spalding of Pomfret, Connecti-

cut, was appointed tutor at a salary of \$500. He was described as "a good scholar . . . more given to literature than any other member of the faculty." Another less complimentary account says that he was "a fine looking man, with a countenance rather proud and intelligent. He was reserved and distant, a fine scholar, and a gentleman in his manners. He evidently took no pleasure in teaching. His recitations were dry and uninteresting. It was a relief to himself, as well as to his class, when they were ended." He stayed at the College for three years and then moved to St. Louis where he became a successful lawyer.

In Spalding's last year on the Hill, he contracted typhus, and was tended by President Backus, who was having difficulties with the Board of Trustees and some members of the faculty over matters of discipline and curriculum. The Board had, for example, in September, 1816, taken away from him the task of correcting the compositions of the senior class, normally considered the particular charge of the president. Among the faculty, Seth Norton was considered by the president to be aspiring to his office. Backus is reported to have told Theodore Strong: "Professor Norton is intriguing for my shoes, but I understand the game and will be more than his match. I can set a trap for a skunk and wait eighteen years for it to spring. . . ." The matter did not come to a head for, in taking care of young Spalding, Backus himself caught the disease, from which he died on December 28, 1816. The Board voted to pay his salary through the third quarter of 1817 to his widow and offered his son, Robert, free tuition at the College if he wished to attend. He did not, Professor Seth Norton was selected to be acting president until a successor to Backus was found.

During the Backus administration, twenty-five graduates in three classes had received their degrees from him. A commons hall and a new dormitory had been built. A start had been made on leveling and landscaping the campus. The charges for tuition and board had been raised to thirty dollars a year; a sidewalk had been constructed down the Hill to the village; and the general organization of the curriculum and discipline of the College had been established.

The buildings started under Backus initiated a trend which within ten years brought the College close to financial disaster, for in a frenzy of construction which included two other dormitories and a chapel, the Trustees used up most of the permanent funds of the College, leaving little for the payment of faculty salaries and current expenses. Under Backus, however, the ill effects of this policy were not immediately apparent and the College flourished in numbers and reputation.

During this early period of expansion, when income from tuition and mortgages failed by a wide margin to match expenses, the College sought and received aid from the state government in the form of benefits from lotteries. Lotteries, long common and popular in Europe among governments and people, crossed the Atlantic early to the colonies where they were used both for private profit and for public benefit. The use of this method of raising funds for social purposes too large to be financed by private means was generally acceptable in the eighteenth century and was used in New York as early as 1746 to aid the then King's College. In 1805, Union College, an institution greatly enriched by the sysstem under the astute leadership of President Eliphalet Nott, was allowed one to raise \$80,000 for buildings, endowment, library and scholarships.

On April 13, 1814, one of New York's last large lotteries was established, on the assumption that "Well regulated seminaries of learning are of immense importance to every country, and tend especially by the diffusion of science and the promotion of morals, to defend and perpetuate the liberties of a free state," and should be supported. This act "for the promotion of literature" provided that Hamilton College should receive \$40,000. The other beneficiaries were to be Union College, whose president was mainly responsible for the legislation, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York City, and the Asbury African Church of New York City. King's College objected violently to the partiality shown to Union and as a sop received the Hosack Botanical Gardens, a parcel of real estate then in the wilds north of the city proper upon which Rockefeller Center was later erected,

to the substantial benefit of Columbia University. A major restriction was placed on the lottery; no tickets could be sold until all the lotteries previously authorized by the state had been completed. The institutions, however, could borrow on the security of the anticipated proceeds, but only at heavy interest rates, and not to the full value of the grant. This was a serious reservation for the colleges concerned, because lotteries by this time were far from being as popular as they had been earlier and the tickets were becoming increasingly difficult to sell.

Word of the allocation of the large sum from the lottery was welcome news to the Trustees who were already feeling the squeeze between their dwindling assets and mounting commitments. As early as May 10, 1814, the College treasurer told the Board that \$15,000 to \$20,000 would be required before many months had passed. The Trustees therefore authorized the finance committee at their May meeting to raise, if possible, up to \$15,000 on the pledge either of the mortgages held by the College or on the lottery donation—this to "satisfy appropriations made or to be made." This, however, was a period of depression following the War of 1812, and it proved impossible for the College to realize the needed funds in this way.

In 1817 the State advanced \$10,000 to the College against the lottery, enabling it to meet some of its obligations. But even this aid was not sufficient to shield the institution from the coming financial storm.

President Henry Davis

The Board met on January 21, 1817, to elect a successor to Backus and chose the Reverend Henry Davis, president of Middlebury College in Vermont. Three weeks later, on February 11, he was also elected president of Yale College to succeed Timothy Dwight. Davis declined both appointments because of his commitments at Middlebury. When the Board was officially notified of his decision on March 17, they proceeded to call the Reverend Francis Brown, the president of Dartmouth College, to the post. He, in the middle of the litigation in the Dartmouth College case, also declined the position after some delay, although it seemed to offer him many advantages: nearly double the salary Dartmouth was then paying, and an apparent security of tenure which at the time was by no means certain in Hanover.

At its meeting on June 6, the Board received Brown's decision and sent Acting-President Norton to New York City to see if the Reverend Gardiner Spring, pastor of that city's Brick Presbyterian Church, would consider the position. He accepted and was elected to the office on June 24. In the meantime, Davis, concerned by a possibility that Middlebury College and the University of Vermont might merge, and disturbed by the state of his health, intimated that he might accept the presidency if it were offered to him again. When, therefore, on July 21, Spring changed his mind, the hard-pressed Board again turned to Henry Davis and re-elected him. A week later, Spring wrote direct to Davis, saying that if the president of Middlebury was not going to accept, he would reconsider his own earlier decision and move to Clinton. On September 1, Spring, addressing Davis from Utica,

was even more specific. He now said that if Davis was not going to become president of Hamilton, the job would be offered once again to him. Spring strongly implied that he would now accept. Davis finally came to Clinton, but when he had seen the College, he decided that he did not want the job, even though the Board offered to lend him \$2,000 if he accepted. The Board, tired of his vacillation, now demanded that he accept. This he finally did, but without great enthusiasm. When he took up his post, on the last day of October, he had received assurances from the Board that he would have its full co-operation and that the finances of the College would be steadily improved, promises which proved to be illusory.

Henry Davis, despite a "general air of lassitude" and a chronic feebleness which pushed him toward hypochondria, proved himself the strongest of Hamilton's early presidents. Born in 1771, he had graduated from Yale in 1796. After teaching at Williams and later at Yale, he became professor of Greek at Union College. He left Schenectady in 1806 to take the presidency of Middlebury College. Conservative by nature and by dress—he favored old-fashioned short clothes of faded blue homespun and silver-buckled shoes—he brought to Hamilton the academic traditions of New England colleges.

On his arrival, he found the College in poor condition. In the ten-month period since the death of Backus, discipline had deteriorated and the faculty was at odds. But

when the news of his acceptance of the presidency . . . was made known in Clinton, there was wild enthusiastic feeling expressed. Books were thrown aside, lessons forgotten, rooms deserted, and all rushed to the front of the College to express their delight and tumultuous joy. Every window was illuminated, and the old tallow candle did its best to add its feeble light to that of the bright stars. . . .¹

Notwithstanding this initial enthusiasm on the part of the students, Davis made it clear to his associates on the faculty that the first order of business was the restoration of disci-

pline on the Hill. And indeed the new spirit of order lasted until Christmastime before it was broken by a major student outburst. Before his illness, President Backus had announced in chapel that the students should have Christmas as a holiday "forever." In the words of a member of the Class of 1820, written fifty years later, "forever" could not be interpreted "a less period than one year." When, therefore, it was decreed by Davis that not the entire day but only classes after 11 a.m. would be excused, the sophomores decided to cut the last recitation and locked the door against their instructor. The rest of the student body did not participate in the bolt. The leaders of the rebels were reprimanded by the president and with much reluctance made a public confession of their sins. At that point they also asked for honorable dismissions so they could go to other less rigorous colleges. Davis was willing to agree to this demand, provided they got their parents' permission and paid their bills. In the end the students backed down and a surface discipline was restored.

A later commentator on the disturbance said that Davis had objected to the holiday principally because it was not the custom in New England. Although quiet returned to the campus, the Board of Trustees was displeased by the pressure on the students, and Davis quotes one of the Board as saying, "the faculty have treated the Sophomore class with too much severity and we shall not allow it. They are in our hands; and we will let Dr. Davis know that our young men are not to be governed like the students of New-England colleges." This was the opening of a struggle between the President and some members of the Board which lasted for more than a decade and nearly brought about the ruin of the College.

After the Christmas Day disturbance, the campus remained normally quiet until the spring of 1819. At that time a student named Jabez G. Goble, a member of the Class of 1819, who had been in trouble since his arrival on the Hill two years before, behaved so obstreperously in chapel that the faculty voted to dismiss him without a degree. The decision seemed unjust to his classmates and to the juniors of the time. The students petitioned the president against the ac-

tion and then approached the prudential committee of the Board. The Trustees upheld the president and faculty, albeit reluctantly, but voted later to grant Goble his degree. This interference by the Board with the authority of the president and faculty made a showdown between the obstinate Davis and the Trustees inevitable.

The two following years were calm, due in some measure to the conduct of another religious revival in the village of Clinton which found a large response among the undergraduates. But in March, 1821, the sophomore class conspired against Eleazar L. Barrows, who had joined the faculty as a tutor in November, 1817, with the additional responsibilities of preaching in the chapel—a task Davis did not enjoy. In May, 1818, Barrows had been elected to the post of professor of Latin, with the promotion to go into effect when the student body reached eighty in number. A majority of the members of the sophomore class, on March 19, 1821, ostensibly objecting to Barrows' poor teaching methods but actually irked because of the rigid discipline he enforced in the dormitories, prepared a memorial to the Trustees praying that he be relieved of his post. Davis managed to prevent the mailing of the protest, but could not stop the matter from coming before the Board informally. Barrows' position was intolerable and he resigned, a decision accepted by the Board but protested by the faculty. Barrows left, to be ordained and to serve as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Pompey and Cazenovia and as editor of The Christian Iournal. He died in Utica in 1847. The students, some of whom felt that they had received more than tacit support from Board members, considered that they had won a victory and could, if they wished, secure the resignation of any faculty member they found objectionable. In any case, the episode had a further damaging effect upon the discipline of the College. Davis, commenting later on this situation, stated that the Board looked upon the College as a "company" it was called on to manage and regarded the faculty as hired hands.

Two years later an even more serious problem arose, one which has stayed fresh in the annals of the College as the supreme Hamilton student prank. William Kirkland, a mem-

ber of the Class of 1818, and son of General Joseph Kirkland, the chairman of the Board of Trustees, was appointed a tutor in 1820. Kirkland, also unpopular because he considered rules were made to be kept, lived in two rooms on the fourth floor of Hamilton Hall. A day or two before November 16, 1823, a small group of students dragged up a swivel from the village and on the night of the 16th set it up, heavily loaded and plugged, in the hall outside the tutor's sitting room. It was fired with shattering effect. Kirkland, who was asleep in his adjoining bedroom, escaped injury, although his coat, on a chair at the foot of his bed, was shredded. The blast shattered the walls and doors, and broke the windows. Some fragments of the cannon went through the roof of the building and some down into the cellar. The occurrence put the entire College and indeed the neighborhood into an uproar. The faculty immediately investigated the affair and, although the students tried to shield the wrong-doers, found evidence of the guilt of two boys. By the time the faculty had come to their conclusion, some fifty of the students, fearing that all involved faced criminal prosecution, signed a covenant not to testify under oath if brought into court.

At this point the Board of Trustees, called hastily together in informal session, decided to take a hand. A committee of the Board visited the College to investigate the happenings, against the advice of President Davis who wanted the affair to be handled by the faculty. The intrusion of the committee undermined the position of the faculty to the point where the students insolently refused to accept their authority in the matter. The committee, of which Davis was not a member, did not get as far as the faculty had, and finally in desperation threatened criminal action unless the offenders declared themselves. In the end one student was expelled for his part, and several others were suspended until they had apologized publicly. The Board took no action against the students who had combined to resist taking an oath, and refused to back Davis in his demands that they be punished. During the month before the matter was settled about twenty of the students ran away. The faculty did not wish to readmit them until solid bases of discipline had been established, but again the Board would not support them. Even the relatively slight punishments of public confession were considered too severe. Since some of the students involved came from well-connected families in Utica, the clamor against the faculty was loud.

In the end, the students felt that they had bested both faculty and Board, and celebrated the anniversary of the explosion by disorders on the campus, mutilating seats and rails in the Chapel, breaking windows and scrawling indecencies on the whitewashed walls of the College buildings. Morale on the Hill among all parties was so bad that at one point the faculty considered resigning en masse and the existing rift between president and Board was inevitably widened. Fortunately for the College the following winter was another period of religious revival, during which more than twenty of the students were "saved." For a time the Hill remained tranquil. However, a worse period was at hand, founded on two influences which grew up around and engulfed the College, bringing it near to extinction.

In western New York, and along the route of the Erie Canal, a region settled primarily by migrants from the New England states, there had existed from 1790 onward a broad "psychic highway"4 in which were engendered waves of religious revivals and crusades, waxing and waning from year to year, but becoming steadily more general until they reached their peak in 1825 and 1826 with the preaching of Charles Grandison Finney. He was the "new measures" revivalist who later became president of Oberlin College, and under whose ministrations hundreds of people were caught up and converted. The "new measures" gatherings were marked by hysterical enthusiasms which were frowned upon by many of the established clergy.5 Utica, a center during the decade of an expanding economy to which the inhabitants set few future limits, was also a focal point of these revivals, the effects of which spread to all classes and income levels, and included several influential members of Hamilton's Board of Trustees.

President Davis, in more ways than one a staunch conservative, was not greatly impressed with the "new measures."

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On February 13, 1828, for example, in the middle of his fight with the "reformers" on the Board, he was so undaunted that he subscribed to a statement of public protest which read in part: "measures have been introduced of late into a number of Churches, which are dangerous in their tendency, and if persisted in, likely to prove highly injurious to the character of revivals, and the fruitful source of discord in the Churches."⁶

Such was the enthusiasm of Finney's adherents, however, that not to support was to damn, and those who did not applaud merited displacement. It came about then that President Davis, already at odds with the Board over matters of discipline, was also opposed by a vocal minority of Trustees because he did not wholeheartedly support their religious views. In writing of the "reformers," Davis said that prior to 1825 they had been his friends and supporters. He referred in particular to the Reverend John Frost, who at the time of the cannon episode, had defended the faculty against the Board. But from 1825 on, when Finney began his "ministrations," they "obstinately and virulently" opposed him.⁷

In the general field of American education, this was also a time of questioning of objectives. With the triumph of Jeffersonian democracy over Federalism, and the growing strength of Jacksonian concepts, an emphasis upon the higher education of an elite was being doubted. The rigid bounds of the traditional liberal arts training seemed out of step with the times. The introduction of practical subjects was increasingly advocated, particularly in the form of vocational electives for students. Evidence of the impact of this on the Hill came in 1824, when Professor John Monteith, who in 1821 had left the presidency of the Catholopistemiad (later the University of Michigan) to teach Latin and Greek at Hamilton, addressed a memorial to the Board on the subject. A year later it was suggested at a Board meeting that bookkeeping and political economy be added to the curriculum. This widespread unrest, being argued in academic circles throughout the country and particularly at Harvard and Yale, had its influence on the thinking of the Board of Trustees. However, it was not at all acceptable to the New

England-raised president nor to a New England-oriented faculty which accepted the conservative Yale report of 1829.

Linked to this basic malaise about the ends and aims of education was a movement which had its genesis locally in the "burned over district," a movement very much in tune with the times and started by Finney's mentor, George Washington Gale, later founder of Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. To man the new great revival, educated young recruits were needed. These, coming for the most part from lower-income families, could be most economically trained in schools which combined formal education with manual labor. Part of the day the students studied, part of the day they worked for their keep. This idea, appealing in its simplicity and given substance by Gale in the neighboring Oneida Institute, gained extremely strong support in Utica, again among men who were also members of Hamilton's Board of Trustees. Against this concept, with all its implications for a college of liberal arts, President Davis set his face, alienating another segment of his Board. So enthusiastic, however, were the supporters of the Oneida Institute that they were willing to promote the school at the grave expense of the College on whose board of trust they sat. Against this background of church politics, it mattered little that Presbyterian-oriented Hamilton College was, as Davis pointed out, in the center of a natural recruiting area in which there were three synods-Genesee, Geneva and Utica-holding 360 churches or one-sixth of all the Presbyterian churches in the country and a population of 800,000.

Added to these wider outside influences, bearing on the College and the relationship between Board and president, was a domestic problem. The College was feeling a financial pinch. Although in number of students the institution had flourished, it had not thrived fiscally either by gift, subscription, public support from the state, or by payment of student fees. (Although the students were required to sign a \$1,500 bond at matriculation, receipts from tuition bills dribbled into the treasurer's office.) Also the initial funds, which were fairly large for the period, had been for a decade expended on physical plant, leaving little for the support of

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the faculty. Indeed the total productive funds of the College were by the mid-twenties reduced to a figure estimated by the Board at \$15,000.

The College building program, though spread over a thirteen-year period from 1812, would have been exceedingly active for an institution even more generously endowed than Hamilton, The Commons was built in 1812: Hamilton Hall was started the following year. Six years later, another dormitory, Kirkland Hall, was under consideration, to be authorized in 1821, and finished in 1824. In 1823, yet another student building was projected and the work begun. Two years later, the Board decided that the College needed a new chapel, which indeed it did. It ordered the still uncompleted North College to be roofed over and boarded up, and set about the erection of the Chapel, which was completed in 1827. To reverse the trend somewhat, in 1829 the Board ordered the demolition of the original Academy building, a move which roused the sentimental ire of many an alumnus. North College remained unfinished for many years, being finally completed as the result of a drive by President Simeon North in 1842.

The effects of all this building activity upon the finances of the College were just becoming clear to the Trustees at a time when the other divisive influences were at their height.

A Ship Close-Hauled

President Davis' administrative difficulties would have been easier to support had he been assured of a united faculty behind him. Unfortunately this was not so, principally because of the presence of John Monteith as professor of the ancient languages. Monteith had been born in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in 1788, of parents of Scotch origin. When he was twenty, he decided to enter the ministry and began to study the classics. In 1816 he was graduated from the Princeton Theological Seminary and accepted a call to "introduce the Gospel in Detroit." He established the first Protestant church in that western city and from 1817 to 1821 served as president of the Catholopistemiad which grew into the University of Michigan. On May 31, 1821, he received from the Reverend Eleazar L. Barrows, about to be forced from his professorship on the Hamilton faculty, an invitation to take his place. Monteith seized the chance for he had wished to become an active teacher. He arrived in Clinton on September 22 of the same year.

A man of energy and parts, during his six years on the faculty Monteith seldom saw eye to eye with President Davis. According to Davis, Monteith had great influence with the students, whom he treated as equals and companions, a rapport commented on unfavorably by the rest of the faculty. Davis believed that Monteith encouraged the students in their criticisms of the College and cited one instance in which Monteith prayed in chapel: "Thou knowest, Lord, that the faculty of Hamilton College have sinned in high places, and we pray thee, O Lord, if they are obstacles to thy work, that thou wouldst remove them out of thy way."

Just before commencement in 1826, a report had been circulated among students and alumni stating that Davis was superannuated and that the undergraduates, particularly in the senior class, were dissatisfied with his teaching. It was said that upperclassmen should have more freedom of choice in their studies. This class could hardly have been the favorites of the president, for one of its members had prayed publicly for the president, describing him as "an old grayheaded sinner, leading his scholars down to hell."²

The resulting dissensions within the College did not come to a head until the spring of the following year, perhaps because shortly after the 1826 commencement Davis went to New England for a prolonged holiday and so was removed from the scene. But on April 23, 1827, John Monteith approached the wealthy Gerrit Smith, Class of 1818. Smith, who was married to the daughter of the late Backus, had joined the Board of Trustees in 1824. Monteith reported by letter that, although the College as a whole presented the picture of a harmonious faculty and an orderly and industrious student body, it was a disturbing sign that five students had transferred to Union College within the week. He ascribed the causes of their defection to the stiffness of the mathematics course under Professor Theodore Strong and to the deficiencies of the senior year program under the president. Of Davis, Monteith said slightingly that he was sure that "venerable and amiable gentleman on whom that year's instruction depends is as faithful and diligent as his health will permit."3 Monteith believed that, unless steps were taken to correct these situations, the College must decline. He thought that the curriculum should be broadened and made more practical and that a professor of rhetoric should be appointed. He also pointed out that Oneida Hall was that year entirely vacant and suggested that, in view of the unused space, the medical college at Fairfield should be transferred to Clinton or that a new school should be established at Hamilton, a move which he said the local medical profession supported.

Monteith's letter brought the antagonism between Davis and the Board into the open and from this time on the Col-

lege faltered until the issue was settled. On May 8, the Board met and a committee was established to inquire into the state of the College, its government and the conduct of its officers and particularly to investigate Monteith's animadversions.

Simeon Ford, one of the original trustees, who proposed the committee and who, unfortunately for Davis, resigned the same day because of his removal from the vicinity, is said to have stated that if what he had heard of Monteith's conduct was true, "I am prepared to cut him off this day." The committee was headed by Henry McNeil, who strongly opposed Davis. There were no schoolmen in the group, and a majority was antagonistic to Davis on one ground or another. Davis himself was not invited to be a member.

News of the committee's appointment leaked out to the College and the surrounding communities, stirring up rumors that the institution was on the verge of ruin, that the president was to resign or that the faculty was to be dismissed. Aside from their effect on the morale of the College, the conjectures served to dissuade would-be students from applying for admission to the College and from that point the enrollment started to fall.

The committee worked on its report through the spring and summer of 1827, finishing it a short time before commencement. When it was issued, on August 21, it whitewashed Monteith and then got down to brass tacks: the permanent funds of the College had been reduced to \$15,000, which yielded only \$800 to \$1,000 a year. At the time there were approximately a hundred students enrolled. This number should have produced \$2,550 in tuition and fees, but in actuality only \$1,600 to \$1,700 was collected because the faculty remitted so many fees. The committee felt that little financial help could be expected from the state legislature or from individuals. They pointed out that since the beginning of the College there had been only insubstantial assistance from the latter source. Its recommendations on what to do were drastic: the faculty should be supported entirely by the tuition fees, leaving the income from the funds to pay the salary of the treasurer and the incidental costs of

running the plant. Income from room rents should be reserved for emergency expenses. If the faculty refused to accept this arrangement, the College should get a new set of teachers who would. In addition to these changes, the committee recommended that the College dispense with the services of its tutors, leaving only three professors to do all the instructing. The committee also felt that French and Spanish should be added to the curriculum which should in any case be made "more conformable to modern times, and judiciously adapted to the present wants and feelings of the public."

Davis was shown the report in advance. As was expected, he disagreed with it strongly. He felt that the financial picture had been painted far too black in an effort to get the faculty to resign, to force adoption of the report by the Board as a whole and to insure farming out the College as a proprietorial enterprise. So far as the actual finances were concerned, Davis maintained that the permanent funds totaled not \$15,000 but at least \$29,000, of which \$18,000 were productive. He claimed that 3,000 acres of land held by the College were omitted from the assets. Davis also objected strenuously to dispensing with the tutors, saying that General Joseph Kirkland's idea of having members of the senior class take their places was not practical.

The Chairman of the Board retorted that the money was gone, and that fees should therefore be increased; the College could not be worse off; the Trustees should experiment by leasing the College to the faculty.

When the report came up to the full Board on August 31, the parts affecting the faculty were already dead. Davis again pointed out that the College was better off than had been indicated, that it had come through the depression years of 1825 and 1826 as well as had other colleges, and that during the last five or six years 30 to 36 students of good caliber had matriculated each year. In a schoolman's reply to businessmen, he asserted that the number of instructors should be increased and not lowered. He said that aid should be sought from the public, and that a professor of divinity should be added to the faculty. Somewhat earlier a fund-raising drive

had without effort raised \$4,000 to endow such a chair. Davis was willing to concede that the curriculum might be made "a little more practical."

Then the Board went into executive session, asking Davis to absent himself. During a prolonged two-day "free conversation" of the Board, during which time Davis was not called back, the whole situation was threshed out, with the anti-Davis reformers still striving to oust the faculty. In the end, the report was not adopted or even put to a test: no decisive vote could be reached.

The next move by the reformers was to try to get rid of Davis himself. They claimed that the College was in trouble primarily because the president was not well known throughout the countryside; he did not preach abroad frequently. When a committee intimated these complaints, Davis rejoined that his health did not allow him to engage in extensive preaching, a fact which had been made clear when he took the job. The Board adjourned in this impasse.

The Board met again on September 19, and Davis was asked again to retire. However, he demanded the opportunity to speak and did so with considerable frankness. He claimed that even though the committee had initially and primarily been appointed to discipline Monteith, the underlying purpose of its report, for which General Kirkland and John H. Lothrop had been primarily responsible, had been to force the faculty to resign. Certain clergymen on the Board, supporters of Monteith, would have resisted the dismissal of the professor and in fact wanted Davis himself removed because of his views on revivals. He said that the Board really wanted to get rid of the president and faculty to save their own faces after wasting the College's assets. Parenthetically, Davis maintained that Professors Theodore Strong and Monteith had been assured privately that if the faculty did in fact resign, they themselves would be reappointed.

After a recess, during which the tension did not relax, Davis resumed the attack and named Kirkland and Ephraim Hart as trustees who were publicly running down the College. He accused Kirkland of writing to his son William, the victim of the cannon episode, who was studying in Eu-

rope preparatory to taking over the Latin professorship on the Hill, saying that "the College was of little consequence to the country—that he had spent his time and money in its service, that he would give \$100 to be freed from this burden, that, for his part, he was very willing the people of the West should have it, if they wanted it." He also told his son not to consider coming back to Hamilton since the College had "too many teachers already." Davis quoted Hart as saying: "The college was under sectarian influence—that the charity students sponsored by the Western Education Society [of which Davis was a strong suporter] were running it and that he [Davis] should resign his seat." 6

The president reminded the Board that a professor of divinity was in fact needed and he offered to give \$300 a year to the support of the chair (this in place of the \$300 he had subscribed to the permanent fund). He was also willing to give the professor the use of the presidential house.

The next day, when the Board met, again without Davis present, a proposal was made by Othniel Williams, a Davis supporter, who had just become a trustee, that a professor of divinity be appointed. The reformers now maintained that "such a measure would be no better than patchwork, that such a man would only be in their way." The Reverend Henry Dwight, a powerful opponent of Davis, said that "he wished to see every thing swept from the Hill but just the buildings." The Board's fruitless discussions continued all day. Fifteen minutes before adjournment, Davis was brought back in and asked if the students, with the exception of the seniors, could be taught by three professors and no tutors. He replied that this was possible but it would be very hard on the instructors. It would also leave the dormitories unsupervised at night. Chairman Kirkland rejoined that an unmarried professor or one living without a family might serve as a proctor.

Then before adjourning it was moved by the Reverend John Frost that the president's salary be reduced by \$600 to \$1,200, and the Greek professor's to \$650. He also proposed that Monteith should teach both Latin and Greek, and that the services of the Latin professor be eliminated. In partial

recompense for the reductions, both Davis and Monteith were to be released from their commitments to the permament funds. When it was also proposed that the salary of Theodore Strong be reduced, the reformers, fearful of losing the mathematician entirely, got cold feet—his salary had only recently been increased from \$800 to \$1,000. Just before adjournment, yet another committee was set up to re-examine the problems of study and discipline.

The Board had solved nothing and the conditions of the College steadily deteriorated. In October, Strong resigned, convinced he could expect no security if he remained. As a result, several members of the junior class left the Hill for other institutions. On November 14 a minority of the Board called a special meeting to elect a successor to Strong, but the weather was bad and not enough members were present to constitute a quorum.

On the same day the students presented a memorial to the Board, claiming that the decline of the College was certainly not due to the faculty. In particular they objected to the resignation of the mathematics professor, who had left in disgust, and called for the election of a replacement. If this were not done and quickly, they planned to leave the College. When this petition was read to the Board, General Kirkland rejoined that there would be plenty of students if only the Board would adopt the right measures, or, as Davis chose to interpret the phrase, lower the standards of the College to those of a high school. There being no quorum, no action was taken and when the matter came up at the January meeting, the petition was merely read and filed.

The January, 1828, meeting of the Board was exciting, prolonged, and well attended. It started at 10 a.m. on Wednesday morning and lasted until 4 a.m. on Saturday. The public at large was intensely interested, since it was expected that the Board must now reach some firm conclusions. After Strong's resignation had been officially received, the new comittee report was read. It proposed that the president be appointed by the Board for a specific number of years with the greatest possible authority. He would nominate all members of the faculty and allocate their duties, with the Board

having the power only to accept or reject the nominations. None, however, could be discharged without the consent of the Board. The president would be responsible for the salaries of all faculty members, except that of a professor of divinity. He was to outline the curriculum, subject to the approval of the Board. He could not, however, lower the entrance requirements or diminish the present course requirements. However, the report did suggest that political economy. American history, modern languages, civil engineering and bookkeeping be added to the course structure. Examinations were to be conducted in the presence of outside examiners and prizes were to be established for composition and elocution. The students' accounts were to be payable at the end of each term. The top third of each class were to have their names published. All students, except the "beneficiaries," as the scholarship students were called, were to board in the Commons, where a "lady of refinement . . . was to preside at table." Vacations were to be shortened. The president was to keep the College buildings in repair. In exchange he was to receive all the room rent, the tuition and the board fees. The report went on to specify in great detail the overseeing of the students but did not outline the curriculum.

The reaction of Davis, who had not been consulted by the committee, was scathing. He again claimed that the Trustees wanted to turn the College into a high school and that no educator of any integrity would have anything to do with such a plan. He deemed the entire report another attempt to force his resignation.

After a long debate on the constitutionality and expediency of the report, a vote was taken. Eight voted for its rejection, ten for acceptance. Kirkland did not vote and the Reverend Dirck C. Lansing, of Utica, a new member, abstained. Two absent members, the Reverend Nathaniel Kendrick and William Floyd, were known to favor its rejection. The report was tabled: a large enough majority could not be mustered in its favor.

The Board, in frustration, then appointed another committee, consisting of three Davis opponents, one supporter and one neutral, to draft a more acceptable plan. Davis was

asked to serve but refused.

This committee asked Davis if he would resign. Momentarily discouraged, he considered that there now was no hope of saving the College so long as a majority of the Board was in favor of basically changing the nature of the institution. Therefore he offered to resign at the next commencement if the Board would pay him \$4,400. His opponents were able to raise only \$2,500, a sum which he considered insufficient and which he refused to accept. At this point, Davis was asked to sit with the Board again. Chairman Kirkland asked what was to be done since they could not get rid of the president. Then the Board proceeded, in what Davis termed an insincere gesture, to appoint Dr. Gardiner Spring of New York, who had earlier been a candidate for the presidency, professor of divinity at a salary of \$1,500 plus a house. They also appointed John H. Lathrop professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at \$800, and Henry Axtell professor of English literature at \$800. The professorship of Greek and Latin was abolished but young William Kirkland was appointed professor of ancient and modern languages, with no salary mentioned.

Would this satisfy Davis, asked the Board; would the College flourish? "You are not sincere," he replied. The reformers then moved to rescind all the appointments but lost the vote. At this point the Board fell into understandable confusion. Davis' own supporters were getting dubious. Should he not accept the \$2,500 and leave? Gerrit Smith, momentarily sympathetic toward Davis, an unusual position for him, said, "I never witnessed such a spirit as is manifested by some of your brethren towards you; they are determined to dig your grave." He advised him to yield. Davis rejoined that it would do no good. He would resign only if the College could be rejuvenated by such a step. However, he considered this impossible until there was a change in the membership of the Board. Then suddenly Davis again vacillated and offered to accept the \$2,500. By this time the Board could not raise the smaller sum. Indeed only \$800 was pledged, of which the Reverend Henry Dwight put up \$600 as he had the first time, in spite of saying that he had become "a complete radi-

cal; he had lost all confidence in Colleges."

The meeting had by this time lost all direction. Before adjournment, the Board rescinded all the appointments it had made (none of these involutions appear in the official minutes). Nor did it elect a professor of mathematics, despite the fact that most of the junior class had left College and their example was likely to be followed by a majority of the sophomore class. The Board merely appointed another committee to go over the ground again.

The Board met again on May 13 and opened the session with a contest over the minutes of their last meeting, which stated that \$2,500 had been raised by the Board to pay off Davis. He, according to the minutes, at first refused the offer and then changed his mind. Davis protested the misstatement violently and the phrase was expunged. Then the president was asked on what terms he would resign. None were forthcoming. The reformers now wanted to adjourn but were opposed by Henry McNeil, one of their own group. Davis was asked if he had any plans at all for the College. None, he said, that is the Board's business. Let the Trustees make up their minds and so long as what they proposed resulted in a College and not a high school, he would implement the plan. A resolution was then introduced stating that since Davis would not resign, the College could not prosper under him. This was withdrawn without a vote.

The Board then proceeded to re-elect a professor of mathematics, a move opposed by the reformers. They named Lathrop, at a salary of \$800. He was, however, unwilling to give up the security of his post at the Lyceum in Gardiner, Maine, until the fracas at Hamilton was settled. For the third time the professorship of Greek and Latin was abolished, and replaced with a professorship of languages. At the end of the meeting McNeil resigned, the first major break in the ranks of the reformers.

The failure of the Board to settle its differences aroused keen interest in the neighboring villages. On August 15, 1828, a group of two hundred Clintonians petitioned the Board asking what had brought the College to "its now degraded state." This was read and filed—at the next Board

meeting on August 26. Gerrit Smith then proposed that all officers except the president be dismissed and the College closed after commencement. Davis later wrote that when Smith introduced this resolution, his comments were accompanied "with a look, and tone, and emphasis, and gesture, which indicated clearly (I am sorry to say) the intention of this young man to bear me down on the post, with all my gray hairs." The president was to be voted one year's salary. Davis again refused to resign, despite the pressure. Trustee Othniel Williams pointed out that the Board did not possess the legal right to close the College. Consequently the resolution was withdrawn without a vote. Williams then said that so long as the president would not resign, it was the duty of the Board itself to fill the vacancies in the faculty and to support the College. Some reformers objected to the wording, feeling that if they voted against the resolution they would be blamed for the impasse. So Williams changed the wording to read only, "that vacancies in the faculty be filled" and omitting the implied endorsement of Davis. Ten voted in favor of this and six reformers, all men of the cloth, Smith, Lansing, Dwight, Coe, Frost and Aiken, voted against. Kirkland as Chairman of the Board did not vote but was known to oppose the measure. The Board then proceeded to elect Henry Axtell professor of languages and Lathrop professor of mathematics and adjourned to get an answer from the latter, who was visiting in the neighborhood. The next morning Lathrop turned down the offer, because of the lack of harmony among members of the Board. The Reverend John Brown now said that some Board members would take it upon themselves to finance the College if the opposition members resigned. Since this idea was new, and some of the reformers were not present, the Board adjourned.

The Board reconvened on September 17. Somewhat earlier, Orrin Gridley, another trustee and later historian of Clinton, had offered to give funds for the support of the College. However, since three weeks had passed and it was apparent that the Board had taken no steps to clarify matters and to increase the number of students, he withdrew his offer. The Board then proceeded to elect Lathrop professor

of mathematics for the third time and were indeed going to name a professor of divinity. On this last motion, however, they decided to wait until the chair was endowed.

At this point Davis asked the Board, member by member, "Are you willing to use your best efforts to support the College, Mr. Davis being president?" Frost, Aiken, and Gold (Frost's brother-in-law) voted no. Coe straddled the issue. The rest said yes and then Aiken changed his vote. A committee was then appointed to prepare a statement for the public, staying up until 2 a.m. to complete it. This was introduced to the Board the following morning, and contained this phrase: "Notwithstanding its present languishing condition, it [the College] has been an instrument of great good, and has flourished (or has been flourishing) for several years." It was moved that the phrase "was flourishing" be substituted, a change directed by the reformers against Davis. As it was very evident that the Board was unable to agree on this point, John Keep, chairman of the committee, angrily withdrew the entire report. Finally the Board decided merely to inform the public that Lathrop and Axtell had been appointed and that a drive for a divinity chair would be held. Davis was convinced that the reformers were now determined to work secretly to undermine the College. He attacked the Board for not recognizing this fact, but when the question was put: "Do you think it the duty of Aiken, Frost, Coe and Gold to resign?" all the members voted no.

In desperation, another committee was appointed to ask Davis if he would resign and on what terms. He now said he would, if the Board would clear his name, give the true facts, and pay him \$4,400. This was unacceptable. A motion was then made to inquire whether the Board could legally remove the president. This was changed to a tentative motion that he be fired, which four or five reformers supported. The original wording was made official and only one member voted against it. Whereupon still another committee was set up to study this question and the Board was adjourned for one week.

When the Board met again the preceding deliberations were, as before, not noted in the official minutes. The new

committee said that under the circumstances it was not expedient to make the report they had been directed to draw up. Davis then made a plea for good feeling, whereupon three members of the opposition threw their resignations on the table. It was decided that Lathrop should be told that the Board would support the College and that a similar message be sent to Axtell. On this assurance, Lathrop, on October 8, 1828, accepted the professorship, but was unable to take up his post until April, 1829. Axtell turned down the job and Lathrop suggested Simeon North as a replacement. North was a graduate of the Class of 1825 at Yale and presently a tutor in that college. It was also decided that a subscription would be started for a divinity chair. But when the hat was passed around the table, the Trustees subscribed less than the sums they had earlier mentioned. The meeting was adjourned.

On January 13, 1829, a meeting of pro-Davis Clintonians petitioned the Regents for an investigation. Two weeks before, Davis himself considered a similar step and had sought the advice of the sagacious Eliphalet Nott of Union College. Nott opposed the idea, feeling that the Regents' decision would be based on "the strength of parties" and would introduce an uncertain element of opposition into a sufficiently confused situation.8

Shortly after this the citizens of Clinton came together again. The sense of the meeting was that there was little hope for the College unless the Trustees co-operated with the faculty. Most also thought that some change in the Board membership was essential, but three "new measures" supporters present called for a change in the faculty itself. It was clear that under the circumstances no funds for the support of the College could be raised in Clinton.

The Board next met on March 18, 1829. This was a special meeting called in response to a request for information, dated February 10, 1829, from the Board of Regents, who acted as a result of the Clinton petition of January 13. (An earlier plea, signed by eleven Clintonians on September 12, 1828, had also been forwarded to Albany. This memorial had asked the Regents to inquire into conditions at the Col-

lege. The petitioners pointed out that, although some \$150,000 had been spent on buildings, the institution appeared to be declining fast.) The Board did not give the Regents any information but merely intimated that it would welcome a visit from them. During this meeting Chairman Kirkland angrily threw his resignation on the table, but later drew it back. It was again decided to ask Axtell to reconsider his decision.

On March 23, the Board received a startling proposal from Gerrit Smith.9 In an analysis of the problems facing the College, he stated that much of the basic difficulty could be attributed to the growing competition among colleges for students. If a college were to be conducted on a businesslike basis, many problems would automatically disappear. His solution was the settling of managerial responsibility upon one individual, a responsibility Smith himself was willing to accept on his own terms. He proposed that for a six-year term he should be given the full use of all the College facilities, with the Board of Trustees accepting the task of repairing the buildings and of completing North College, provided that the number of additional students justified the step. In return Smith would provide the instructors, at an estimated cost of \$25,000 to \$30,000, for the period involved. Smith would receive all tuition fees and rent. He would also receive from the Board \$10,000 (payable over his term of responsibility), on which no interest would be due. Of President Davis, Smith wrote: "I know him well, and cheerfully disavow all suspicion of his being in his dotage. Still, Hamilton College cannot rise under President Davis." Smith insisted that he leave and an entirely new faculty be recruited.

The climax of the struggle between Davis and the Trustees came on May 12, 1829. When the Board met that day at 10 a.m., there were five vacant seats to be filled in its ranks. The five reformers present, being a minority, were not anxious to undertake any business, and made only half-hearted efforts, which extended late into the afternoon, to bring even one of their own group from Utica to break the deadlock. Then, unexpectedly, John Jay Knox, a Davis adherent who had joined the Board the year before, turned up,

having returned earlier than anticipated from a trip to New York City. His presence gave Davis a working majority, to the confusion of the reformers. The tide now turned decisively toward Davis. When the members present were asked if they would indeed unite to uphold the College, they all felt constrained to vote in favor. The Board proceeded unanimously to reject Gerrit Smith's proposal and confirmed Simeon North as professor of languages. Even though six members of the opposition retained their seats on the Board, Davis had won his battle. (Since the beginning of the conflict ten Trustees had resigned.) From this time on new life and spirit were apparent among the Trustees; and the College, reduced in numbers to nine students, the "nine immortals" of the Class of 1831, started its very slow journey back to health.

The Board sought quickly to spread news of the change to its constituency. The prudential committee on July 3 wrote to the editor of the *Western Recorder*, and through him to the editors of papers "in Albany, Utica and other western villages":

It is extensively known that there is no Senior class in the College to be graduated at the usual time of Commencement: but it is understood from the faculty that three or four gentlemen, candidates for the Master's degree, have accepted their appointment as orators for the the occasion. An address will be delivered by a graduate of the College to the association of the Alumni; the Inaugural address of the professor of mathematics and Nat. Philosophy, who is already engaged upon the duties of his department, will also there be delivered, and a similar address is expected from the professor elect of the Languages.

The prize declamations of the undergraduates will take place as usual, on the evening before the Commencement.

Judging from advice lately received from the instructors of several Academies it is believed the accession of students the ensuing year will not be found much short of the number usually received during the most prosperous

season of the Institution.

The public may rest assured that the Board of Trustees are now determined to use all reasonable exertions to raise their College to a respectable rank among our older and most flourishing Seminaries.

The account went on to give the date of the examination for entering students and the studies on which each class would be examined, and concluded: "The expense of board, tuition, room-rent, and contingencies (excluding clothing, books, fire-wood, washing and candles) is about \$95 annually."

The Hamilton College Law School

After Davis had won his battle for the survival of the College on his own terms, he resigned in August, 1832. He had earlier been a founder of the Western Education Society, an eleemosynary organization designed, among other things, to encourage the education of young men destined to become Presbyterian clergymen. The society, some years before, had built a house "across the gulch" just to the north of the College to house what were known to other undergraduates as the "charity students," boys of very limited means whose college expenses were cut by scholarships, donations of clothes, and rooms in what was known as "Charity Hall." The derision to which they were exposed by their peers undermined the venture, and the Society abandoned the experiment. Whereupon Davis cannily purchased the house for \$500 and lived there in his retirement until his death in 1852. The former president continued to sit with the Board of Trustees for many years, seeking with indifferent results to impose his ideas upon college policies.

Shortly after Henry Davis has resigned, the College received word of the first bequest to bolster its treasury. The gift was from William H. Maynard who in 1827 had been a member of the Board of Trustees but resigned, it is reported, in dismay at the confusion ruling that body. Maynard had come from Connecticut to study law under General Joseph Kirkland in Utica where he became one of the city's legal lights before he removed to Albany. There he had served with distinction in the State Senate. Before he died of the Asiatic cholera in New York City in 1832, he willed \$20,000 to Hamilton College for the endowment of a professorship of

law. The size of the bequest, indicating confidence in the College's future by a man who had had personal knowledge of the institution's difficulties, gave heart to the College community and did much to eradicate the skepticism of its neighbors.

The bequest was not immediately available to the College and the Board spent some years considering the form in which it should be used. The location of the chair in Utica. for example, had strong proponents. By 1836, even though the estate had not been settled, the Board named Alfred Conkling to the professorship at a salary of \$1,000 a year and prematurely listed his name in the catalogue. Conkling, the father of the later Republican Senator Roscoe Conkling, and himself later the United States district judge for the northern district of New York, turned down the offer the following year. While Conkling was making up his mind, the proposal for establishing a separate law department in Utica as an adjunct to the College was again debated and rejected. The decision was influenced by the faculty who vehemently opposed any such move. In all probability their strong feeling on the subject stemmed from their reluctance to see the first major evidence of financial interest in the College slip away from their immediate surveillance.

Former President Davis, still a member of the Board, now vigorously supported the professorial candidacy of John Willard of Washington County, later a member of the State Court of Appeals and of the State Senate, but his views did not prevail, and the Board chose instead John H. Lathrop, offering him a salary of \$1,000. Since, however, the Maynard monies had not yet been received, Lathrop was paid from the College's general funds and served as a College officer and full-time member of the faculty.

Lathrop, who had been a member of the Class of 1818 at Hamilton before his transfer to Yale where he was graduated in 1819, left Hamilton in 1840 to become the first president of the University of Missouri. At the time he left, the Maynard estate still had not been settled. Lathrop, one of the most distinguished men connected with Hamilton in its earliest years, served as the head of the University of Missouri un-

til 1849 when he became the Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin. After a decade in that post, he was elected president of the University of Indiana. In 1860 he returned to the University of Missouri as chairman of the faculty and professor of philosophy, helping to guide that institution through the Civil War years. In 1865, the university reelected him president, a position he held until his death in 1866.

For the six years following Lathrop's resignation in 1840, the Maynard chair remained vacant, although the estate had been settled in 1842. Not until 1846 was the faculty again requested to draw up a plan for the instruction of the undergraduates in law in accordance with the will. In August of the same year, Theodore W. Dwight of Clinton was selected to fill the chair. Dwight, a graduate of the Class of 1840, had joined the faculty two years earlier as tutor and librarian. He had strong credentials for he was the grandson of Yale's president, the son of Hamilton's treasurer, the nephew of Theodore Strong, the mathematics professor, and the brother of Benjamin who ran one of the most successful of Clinton's boarding schools and in 1854 founded the Clinton Rural Art Association. Dwight himself had spent a year at the Yale Law School and in 1845 had been admitted to the New York State bar.

After teaching a nebulous admixture of history, law and political science to undergraduates for several years, in 1852 Dwight suggested that a graduate law school be established in connection with the College. The Board adopted the proposal the following year and set up a school which received official State approval in 1855. The terms of the new school were the same as those of the College—indeed Dwight's new responsibilities were not supposed to interfere with his regular college teaching.

In the law school the holder of a bachelor's degree need attend the law classes for only three terms; a non-graduate, four. After an examination by a committee of lawyers which included the Maynard professor, a successful student was to receive the degree of bachelor of laws, entitling him to practice without further examination. This regulation was made

more stringent in later years when the State insisted that a term of service with a practicing lawyer must follow the granting of the degree. The law school fees were set at twenty dollars a term, of which fifteen dollars went to Dwight.

The curriculum, stressing that "the great object aimed at is to store the mind of the student with the fundamenal principles of law," covered Blackstone and Kent, the law of contracts, real estate, evidence and pleading. A little later on, a weekly moot court became a publicized feature of the course. Degrees were granted at the regular college commencement and for several years the law students put on their own exhibition in connection with the annual celebration. The school opened with a class of ten students, coming from as far away as Michigan and Virginia.

Dwight's teaching methods involved the extensive use of textbooks all of which, except for Blackstone and Kent, were provided by the school. From these the students obtained a grasp of the legal principles and then they were taught how to apply them. Dwight continued in Clinton, teaching his class in his house at the southwest corner of Dwight Avenue and College Street, until 1858 when he was invited to head the newly established Columbia Law School in New York City. In his last year, he had a class of fifteen students and the Law Department received a separate listing in the college catalogue. The students were kept quite separate from the college boys, boarding in village homes or with members of the faculty. When the Board of Trustees failed to raise Dwight's salary to match that offered by Columbia, he accepted the new offer and went to New York, where his conduct of the school was highly successful until 1891 when the trustees of the University decided to change over to the case system, the antithesis of Dwight's methods. He resigned to

After Dwight left, the Maynard chair remained vacant until 1860, and the law school was suspended. The incumbent president taught the undergraduate courses, receiving from the resources of the Maynard Fund \$1,200 toward his salary. On November 13, 1860, Ellicott Evans, a graduate of Harvard, nicknamed "Gouty" by his students and popular be-

become emeritus professor.

cause he occasionally boxed with the boys, was elected to the chair. Although initially he was to receive a salary of \$1,000, his pay the following year was placed on a contingent basis: the professor getting \$40 from each student and the president of the college \$5. Under Evans, it was also decreed that no undergraduate could take any law school course without the permission of the entire faculty.

The law school and indeed the entire College received a great fillip in 1865 when William Curtis Noyes, a New York lawyer and onetime district attorney of Oneida County who had received a LL.D. from the College in 1856, left his law library of 5,000 volumes to the College. The valuable gift not only reopened the question of moving the law school to Utica, but underlined the desperate need of the College for a library building. The additional volumes of the Noyes Library, which were made available for the use of members of the Oneida County Bar, had filled all the remaining space on the third floor of the Chapel. The question of moving the school itself to Utica was debated with varying degrees of intensity until 1872 when it was definitely rejected. After 1868, when the new Library building was opened, the law school held its classes in the space vacated on the top floor of the Chapel by the removal of the books to the new College Library.

In 1876, James Knox, of Evansville, Indiana, a member of the Class of 1830, whose beneficence had already aided the College, donated \$10,000 to the department. The Maynard Chair thus became the Maynard-Knox Professorship.

In 1882, Ellicott Evans resigned and his place was taken by Francis Marion Burdick, a member of the Class of 1869, who held the post for five years before leaving to become one of the first professors at the Cornell University Law School. Four years later he was called to the Columbia University Law School as Theodore Dwight Professor of Law, a post he held with distinction until his retirement in 1916. When Burdick left, the Hamilton College Law School came to an end, having granted 261 degrees. The chair was not filled again until 1889. The gap in instruction for the undergraduates was filled first by President Henry Darling in his-

tory and Professor George P. Bristol in law. Then the Reverend William Rogers Terrett, a graduate of Williams College who had been pastor of a Presbyterian church in Saratoga Springs, was appointed to the post. In 1893, Terrett became professor of American history, and the Maynard-Knox Fund was utilized to support a professor of municipal law, modern history, and political science.

The Societies

For the first two decades of the College's existence, the social and intellectual life of the students, beyond the rigid requirements imposed by the laws of the College and the curriculum, was primarily centered in the two literary societies. These, to all intents and purposes, divided between them the whole body of undergraduates.

The Philopeuthian Society, the older of the two, was the successor of the Hemean Society which had started among the students of the Academy some time before August 17, 1810. In the early months of the College, this name was changed to Philopeuthian, and at this time all the students belonged to the single organization. Within the year, however, a schismatic movement was started by the wealthier and more aristocratic undergraduates, who numbered in their ranks most of those with less than the highest academic standing. The new society, adopting the name Phoenix, was organized in July or August, 1815, by Ephraim Root, '16, in company with Theodore Sedgwick Gold, '16; Lucius C. Higgins, '17; John Milton Capron, '17; Edward Smith Thompson, '16; William Powell, '17; and Philo Gridley, '16. The last named, however, soon defected and returned to membership in the Philopeuthians.

Both these societies followed the patterns of organization of the Clio and Whig societies in Princeton and others already established in older colleges. They were primarily debating societies, offering the only forensic exercise and almost the only mental recreation available on the Hill. Although the senior class held occasional and unmethodical discussions in the Chapel under the direction of the rhetorical profes-

sor, these were considered a waste of time.

Each society had a precise constitution; the president, treasurer and secretary of each were elected annually. Only a member of the senior class was eligible for the presidency. From the general membership, critics of composition, declamation and of grammar and pronunciation were chosen. There was also an elected reader to whom were sent for judgment the students' compositions, serious and light, which the officer was expected to read at the close of the very formally conducted meetings. Each term also a senior and junior orator and a sophomore disputant were chosen by each society. A standing committee selected the questions to be debated by the membership. The topics were for the most part serious and dealt with the social and political questions of the day: "Would the acquisition of the Canadas be beneficial to this country?"; "Are the abilities of the sexes equal?"; "Ought the Post Office to be responsible for monies sent by mail?"; "Is our present Indian policy justifiable?"; "Can true friendship exist between a cultivated and an uncultivated mind?" From lists such as these the president drew topics at random. He was the sole judge of the debates and his decisions were given at the meeting following the contest, always in writing. The societies met once a week on Wednesday evenings. One week would be given to debates, during which each member would be given an opportunity to enter the discussion, and the next to compositions, declamations, orations and disputations. The entire procedure was taken very seriously by the students, and the president maintained a strict discipline.

The two organizations were financed largely through the fines imposed for absence at the opening and closing roll calls at each meeting. Only the president could grant temporary leave of absence. If he were not satisfied with the excuse offered, still further fines would be imposed. If the need for extraordinary expenditures occurred, it was met by special subscription.

Each society started and assiduously built its own library. The rivalry in these enterprises was very keen and the pride of the students in their society collections intense. From the

College's point of view, this was a most fruitful rivalry, for the two collections represented almost the only serious library facilities available to the students, as the College itself did not, for many years, pay much attention to this department. In the course of time, each society acquired collections numbering between two and three thousand volumes, including contemporary writers and supplemented by very respectable files of the leading domestic and foreign journals. In the early eighteen thirties, the Phoenix Society experimented in establishing a reading room not only for its members but for the college community as a whole. This venture, however, was not a success and was abolished in 1833. Attached to each society library after the early thirties (1834 in the case of the later Union Society) were sizable and valuable cabinets or museums. That of the Union Society was valued at \$500 in 1853 when the College purchased it.

The Philopeuthian Society had the larger membership, being made up of the more serious and less wealthy students, many of whom were the beneficiaries of the Western Education Society, under whose auspices the boys boarded in Charity Hall on the North Road, a group regarded by the Phoenicians with mild contempt. The Philopeuthians adopted as their badge a white satin ribbon, decorated with blue. It carried, printed from a copperplate, the society's name, a picture of Minerva, the Greek letters Phi Gamma Alpha and the motto *Vim promovet insitam*, a line from Horace from which the word *doctrina* was omitted without explanation.

The Phoenix Society, smaller in numbers, comprised of the wealthier students, had its own code of behavior, less puritanical than that of its rival. The Phoenicians refused to serve as monitors for the college authorities, were more likely than not to be involved in college scrapes, and did not at first, as a matter of policy, expend their energies in competition for the academic honors awarded at commencement. According to tradition, President Davis automatically assumed that any problem of college discipline usually had its origin among the Phoenicians. Their badge was a white satin ribbon, ornamented by a gold phoenix, bearing the phrase *Studia et artes colimus* printed from a copperplate.

At another time pictures of the arts and sciences peacefully reposing within the circumference of a wine glass were arranged around the motto.

Before the new Chapel was built in 1827, the two societies met on alternate weeks in the Commons Hall and in the chapel of the old academy. After that year the right side of the third floor of the Chapel was divided into two society rooms. These were comfortably albeit plainly furnished. To prevent outbursts of violence between the rival societies. the Philopeuthians approached their room by way of the staircase at the front of the Chapel, while the Phoenicians used a back stairway to the west. The College provided a small stove in each room, both served by the single chimney at the rear of the building. The pipe from the Philopeuthian stove traversed the Phoenician chamber, picking up their smoke en route: a poor draft resulted in periodic outpourings of fumes. When North College was completed in the early forties, the Phoenicians moved into the four central rooms of its fourth floor.

The rivalry between the two bodies was intense, equaling if not exceeding the excesses of later fraternity rushing. John Cochrane, a member of the Class of 1831, stated that during the rushing period "not an act known to ingenious youth that was not exhausted. Rural walks, darkened conclaves, clandestine councils, exploited libraries and society rooms. . . ." Campaigning for members began well before the freshmen entered college, and great pressure was exerted on the lowerclassmen to join one or the other society. Samuel Eells, who in the early thirties lead a revolt against the excesses of the society system and founded the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity in protest, said that:

importunity and persecution [of freshmen] were only to be escaped by becoming attached to one or the other. . . . The means of persuasion were often of the most unscrupulous kind. . . . Besides drawing off attention from study, it alienated bosom friends, divided classes, and embittered not only public exercises, but all associations for mutual improvement. . . . ²

In the early years of the rivalry, before the Phoenix was firmly established, the Philopeuthians scored a great triumph by electing all the members of the faculty to membership. The instructors did not assuage the tense feelings by wearing the Philopeuthian badge to the junior exhibition exercises of that year.

Each society vied by electing to honorary membership individuals not connected with the College but outstanding in the fields of letters and politics. In 1843, Horace Greeley was made a member of Phoenix, as twenty years before De Witt Clinton had been elected to the same society.

By 1824 the fight between the two organizations had reached a white heat. The Phoenix proposed a delayed rushing period of two weeks at the start of the year. Their rivals rejected the offer. Whereupon President Davis suggested that there should be an equal distribution of entering students between the two societies, a proposal supported by the older society but again rejected by the Phoenicians.

In 1831 the Phoenicians decided to place their rivals in the shade entirely by inviting Daniel Webster or Edward Everett to speak at that year's commencement. Neither accepted but the following year the students tried again and invited another group of notables to attend. All refused except the minor poet Prosper Wetmore, author of Lexington. His acceptance was made public through the newspapers and occasioned an outburst of fury from the Philopeuthians, at the time known as the Phi Gamma Alpha Society. So disruptive was the furor that the administration informed the Phoenicians that unless they deleted Wetmore's name from the commencement proceedings, the occasion itself would be called off. When the undergraduates refused, the faculty was rescued from its dilemma only by an outbreak of cholera in the Utica region which of itself canceled the official College celebrations. The Phoenicians, however, held a separate meeting at ten in the morning of August 22, 1832, at which Wetmore spoke to a "full and highly respectable audience," to the chagrin of the members of the rival group. The following year, the Phoenicians sought to repeat their triumph by inviting Judge Alfred Conkling, Theodore S.

Fay, editor of the *New York Mirror*, and John Adams Dix of Albany to a similar meeting. None could accept the engagement, and thereafter efforts of this kind were discontinued.

The Philopeuthians flourished under that name until 1829, having rejected an offer made by them in 1816 to unite with the Phoenix. Both societies has suspended their activities during the College's black period in 1828, turning their library collections and the conduct of their affairs over to alumni committees. On August 28, 1829, when it became apparent that the College would survive, the Philopeuthians reorganized under the name of Phi Gamma Alpha. In 1833, partly as a result of disgust at the rivalry between the two older societies, and partly because they thought both had become too large, a group of fourteen students from the Phoenix and three from Phi Gamma Alpha, broke away to form the Irving Society. The new venture lasted only a year, when on October 21, 1834, it combined with the Phi Gamma Alpha to form the Union Society. During the year of its existence, the Irving Society had accumulated a library of sixty volumes, which upon the merger swelled the shelves of the Union collection.

A major cause of the slow decline of the two societies stemmed from the request of the students in 1843—a request taken seriously by the faculty—that class honors be abolished. The practical result of this idealistic move was to transfer academic competition from the class to the societies. Rivalries were heated and the electioneering for society offices was better suited to the wards of a city than to the quiet of College Hill. When the phase passed and class honors were restored in 1855, the damage to the societies had been done—and they never recovered. Their place was taken by the fraternities, the first of which had ironically been organized on the Hill to counteract the excesses of rivalry between the earlier societies.

A Fraternity College

Fraternities came to the Hill in the early 1830's. As the College slowly recovered from the turmoils of the Davis administration, the two literary societies regained their earlier vigor and indeed survived until the period of the Civil War. However, such was the rivalry between the Phoenix and the Philopeuthian for membership and academic honors that a reaction against the excesses set in among the undergraduates. To them the idealism expressed by the recently established Greek letter fraternities seemed to offer a solution to the internecine conflict.

During 1831, then, according to an account written fifty years later by Thomas Allen Clarke, '34, "several students appeared wearing breastpins with the Greek letters Sigma Phi. . . . Curiosity was excited, but unsatisfied; the wearers were silent. The differences did not seem to indicate hostility, for the wearers were, for the most part, friends. . . ." Sigma Phi, the second oldest of the modern Greek letter fraternities, had been founded at Union College on March 4, 1827, and was the first house to establish a branch organization—the New York Beta at Hamilton. Kappa Alpha, a fraternity established at Union in 1825, had tried in 1830 to get a footing on the Hill but unsuccessfully.

At first Sigma Phi, Hamilton's earliest fraternity, held its meetings in dormitories and other college buildings. Then after a period of headquarters in boardinghouses and private homes in the vicinity, the chapter established its chapter house, in 1872, on College Street in what is now the village library. It moved up the Hill in 1900 to its present site, at the time overshadowed by the Observatory. This house was

burned down in 1915 and was replaced by the existing "Hall of the Beta" in 1917.

In 1832 a second fraternity was founded at the College by Samuel Eells, '32, who, when he entered college in 1827, had been caught up in the struggle for members between the literary societies. Of the situation at the time he wrote:

Between these [societies] a strong and active rivalry had been maintained; and such . . . was their mutual jealousy and activity, that I almost determined to join neither. But importunity and persecution were only to be escaped by becoming attached to one or the other. I finally gave my name to the Philopeuthians; but the affairs of both had been so desperate during the unhappy condition of the college for some time previous to this year, that they prepared now for a mighty struggle for the vantage ground, as the whole institution seemed to breathe a new life. It is not necessary to detail the history of this struggle, which continued for three years, with abundant bitterness on both sides. So far was the competition carried that it took possession of the best academies in the State. Scarcely a student of any pretensions to scholarship presented himself for admission to college who had not been solicited by both Societies. The means of persuasion were often of the most unscrupulous kind. Neither side hesitated to make use of dissimulation and deceit, and degrading compliances, until college life exhibited a scene of jealousy and strife, in which he who could plan and successfully execute a low manoeuvre, or put upon a fabrication the guise of plausibility, became equally formidable to the opposite party and a favorite with his own. The effect of this state of things on the character of the students was deplorable and among a few of us was a subject of common and frequent regret. . . . Besides drawing off attention from study, it alienated bosom friends, divided classes, and embittered not only public exercises, but all associations for mutual improvement, whether moral, literary or religious,1

Although Eells joined the Philopeuthian Society in self-defense, he was so appalled by his experiences that he thought to found a new society on a different basis. He wrote:

It was a contemplation of these and similar evils that first suggested to me the idea of establishing a society of a higher nature and more comprehensive and better principles; one that should combine all the advantages of a union for intellectual and literary purposes and at the same time maintain the integrity of youthful character and cultivate those finer feelings which the college society extinguished or enfeebled. The new association first must exclude that jealousy and angry competition and secondly must build on a more comprehensive scale providing for every variety of taste and talent, and thirdly it must be national and universal in its adaptations so as not merely to cultivate a taste for literature or furnish the mind with knowledge; but with a true philosophical spirit looking to the entire man so as to develope his whole being moral, social and intellectual.2

Eells called together a meeting of a few of the most influential members of each literary society in his room, "No. 15, Back Middle, Kirkland Hall." A subsequent meeting was held and Eells and Lorenzo Latham appointed a committee to draw up a constitution. The wording of the basic document was entrusted entirely to Eells. In this way the Alpha Delta Phi Society was founded at Hamilton. The year after, Eells instigated the establishment of a second chapter at Miami University in Ohio, thus leaping over the Alleghenies and introducing the fraternity system to the then Far West. Not until 1882 did the Hamilton Chapter erect the "Samuel Eells Memorial Hall," a stone building with a commanding view over the Oriskany Valley, to serve as the fraternity's headquarters. This structure was replaced with a new house in 1928, which was occupied the following year.

Eleven years passed before a third fraternity, the Psi chapter of Psi Upsilon, was established on the Hill. This society

had also been founded at Union College, in November, 1833. In 1838 an attempt had been made to introduce a branch at Hamilton and the undergraduates involved had formed a local society known as Iota Tau. Their wish to join the national organization was successfully accomplished in the winter of 1842-43. For the first few years the new fraternity met in dormitory rooms belonging to the members. Then on February 10, 1848, it was voted to meet at Mr. Risley's in the village. In May, 1849, the chapter sought rooms high on the fourth floor of Middle or South College for its campus head-quarters. But thirty years passed before they were able to set up a permanent college home. During that period they convened for a time at the Odd Fellows Hall in the village.

In 1882 the chapter purchased a lot from Mr. Spencer at the top of Freshman Hill, at the crest of the first rise and curve, paying \$600 for the land. There a chapter house was maintained for forty years. Though it became apparent in 1908 that a move farther up the Hill was desirable, the change was delayed until 1920 when part of the old Anderson farm just below the campus proper was bought. On it a new house was completed in 1922.

In March, 1845, a small group of undergraduates met in the United States Hotel in Utica to establish the Phi Chapter of the Chi Psi fraternity, which had also originated at Union College on May 20, 1841. For eleven years this group, which in its early days held a high reputation for its public-speaking abilities, met in Clinton. Then, in 1856, it sought permission from the College to tear out the partitions separating several rooms in Old South. Two years later, in 1858, John H. Peck and Charles A. Hawley, brother members of the Class of 1859, published the first Hamiltonian, and used the profits to furnish the Chi Psi lodge room. This meeting place was used until the end of the Civil War. Thereafter, because so many members lived and boarded in the village, clubrooms were rented in a house on the west side of the Clinton Park. In 1882, spurred on by Henry Allyn Frink, '70, by then a member of the faculty, the chapter purchased the Huntington House opposite the campus at the top of the Hill.

College rules at that time prohibited meals from being served in chapter houses built on college land. The regulation was designed to force the students to eat in Commons, which President Darling had recently re-established in the present Grant House. The members of Chi Psi objected to this intrusion upon their rights of association and they took care to build on property not directly under college control. As a result the new chapter house was the first one on the Hill in which fraternity men could both live and dine. On March 1, 1905, the lodge was destroyed by fire and all the fraternity records were lost. The members moved into dormitory rooms and ate in the then new Soper Hall of Commons for the next two years, in the course of which their existing lodge was built.

In the 1840's then there were four secret Greek letter societies on the Hill, with a total membership of almost eighty undergraduates out of a student body twice that size. Of them it was said:

These societies were strong in rivalship, and yet were distinctive in the selection of membership. The Alpha Delts laid stress on scholarship; the Sigs measured the size of the pocket-book, the style of dress and general good appearance; the Psi U sought men of generous hearts, companionable ways, and fraternal spirits; the Chi Psi sheltered the high-flyers who were heard as well as seen; and yet each was proud, with demonstration, when among its membership were numbered men of genius, scholars, poets, orators. The inner workings of these societies were profound secrets to the outside world. Candidates for membership were sought with as much secrecy and skill as they would exercise in gaining a recruit from a wily enemy, and the time and place of initiation were covered, not only with the darkness of night, but with every possible precaution against detection. . . . Indeed, the members were highly mortified in feeling if, by any mishap, it became known that a man was an initiate before he "swung out," that is, appeared in the chapel wearing his society badge. . . . 3

Fraternities, initially idealistic, came into being on the Hill to curb the excesses and abuses inherent in the rivalry between the two major literary societies. The innovation, however, did not eliminate the problem, for the new societies vied energetically to appropriate the elective offices of the literary clubs. In some ways the coming of the fraternities made social conditions on the Hill worse. Earlier the entire membership of the student body had had the opportunity to join one or another of the literary societies. But now the membership of the fraternities was limited, and there evolved a sort of social aristocracy which quickly aroused the antagonism of the "outsiders." The fraternities dominated student affairs, and under the veil of secrecy and mystery they entered the literary societies and gained an undue influence in undergraduate offices and in the division of commencement honors.

To counteract these tendencies, the non-fraternity men, headed by Lyman B. Waldo and Chalon Burgess, both of the Class of 1844, in 1841 formed an anti-secret organization known as Theta Pi. In 1847 this group joined with similar movements at Williams, Union and Amherst, to form the Anti-Secret Confederation. This student upsurge was to a large extent a reflection of the general popular opposition to secrecy in wider organizations which was manifested particularly in the antagonism toward freemasons.

The first meeting of the confederates took place on July 21, 1847, and was followed by a formal organization meeting on July 26. This, presided over by C. L. Adams, '47, was attended by three juniors and six sophomores. The new members were called upon to possess "Pure moral characters and entire and conscientious opposition to Secret Societies." They were initially known as the Social Fraternity and had as their motto the phrase "Nothing concealed." The name was changed in 1849 to the Equitable Fraternity which was retained until 1864. Alternately, during this period, the group was also dubbed the "Anti-Secret Society." The preamble to the constitution stated: "Believing that Secret Societies are calculated to destroy the harmony of College, to create distinctions not founded on merit, to produce strife

and animosity, we feel called upon to exert ourselves to conteract the evil tendency of such associations. . . . We would have no class of our fellow students invested with factitious advantages, but would place all upon an equal footing in running the race of honorable distinction. . . ."

While the new society was indeed not secret, for its meetings were open to visitors, its membership was selective and many neutrals were still left out in the cold. Despite its stated purposes, the Anti-Secret Society became to all intents and purposes just another fraternity. Its members wore an expensive gold pin, which was later changed to a cheaper badge. Despite these trappings, the organization did not quickly win full social recognition. In the village the group was known as "the silly fools" or "the Social Frats." On the Hill it was spurned by the older houses who refused, for example, to grant it recognition in the fraternity edition of the college catalogue. And even when, in 1849, they partially capitulated and offered to list the group in the catalogue under the caption of "Secret Societies," but with the subheading "A.S.C.," the Anti-Secrets refused to accept the compromise. Instead the group issued its own version of the catalogue in which appeared not only its own name, purposes and membership, but also those of the established fraternities.

The first meetings of the anti-secret group were held in the rooms of its members, in private residences, in the college assembly hall or in the senior reception room. In June, 1849, the society pressed the College to assign them a social room of their own. Ultimately this was done and they occupied a room on the fourth floor of South College which came to be known as "Fraternity Hall." This remained the home of the society from November, 1849 to 1874. Then, after living for three decades in a residence on Sophomore Hill, a new chapter house was designed near the campus, just east of the Sigma Phi House and north of Alpha Delta Phi. This, their present house, was formally opened late in 1912.

Although the society informally took the name Delta Upsilon in the early 1850's, not until 1864 was this designation formally adopted. The "Anti-Secret" label was not completely dropped until 1879. During this period the society

adopted a new pin—an eagle devouring a serpent—which was termed the "Hen and Angle-worm pin" by the group's detractors. Even though its members were known as good scholars, and its posture became more and more that of a traditional fraternity, the progress of the house to full parity was slow.

Delta Kappa Epsilon had been founded at Yale on June 22, 1844, and the Tau chapter at Hamilton received its charter on January 15, 1856. For eighteen months thereafter meetings were held in rooms at the Masonic Lodge in the village. The group was then assigned two rooms in Old South. There the members slept and studied in the front room which was separated from the lodge room by an iron door. The fraternity occupied these quarters for a decade. Thereafter a faculty edict banished all chapters from the dormitory buildings. The Dekes removed to rooms in a house on the village square and remained downtown until April 1, 1885, when they moved to the old Spencer house at the northwest corner at the foot of the Hill. After this was destroyed on August 17, 1886, a new house was built on the same site, which the chapter occupied until 1927. In that year it moved to its present home, on a part of what had been the old Anderson farm.

By the time of the Civil War, then, six fraternities were well established in the life of the college. Fifty-eight per cent of the student body belonged to them, with the Delta Upsilon membership accounting for one quarter of all the undergraduates.

During this period, a time when the College maintained no Commons, the members of fraternities ate in boarding-house clubs, going down the Hill for breakfast and dinner, and toting lunch baskets up with them in the morning. For a long period, and as late as 1868, the members of Chi Psi had their meals at the home of the Misses Kinney. The Alpha Delts ate at the Ottways, who owned the first house across the Oriskany Creek; the later-organized Theta Delts were at the Westcotts, halfway from the creek to the village square; the Sigs boarded at a house near their chapter, which is now the village library. The Psi U's boarded at Mrs. Strong's on the college side of the creek and later at Miss

Lathrop's at the foot of the Hill. This lady turned over her front porch and two front sitting rooms to the boys, moving her own furniture from one of the rooms to give place for a billiard table.

The next fraternity to come to the Hill was Theta Delta Chi, which had also been founded at Union College in 1847. The Hamilton Psi Chapter was established on March 13, 1868, the successor to the then defunct Phoenix Literary Society. After occupying a series of lodgings in Clinton, the group moved in 1888 into its own house, on a lot purchased from Mr. Waters on Sophomore Hill. The removal to its present home on the Hill proper came in 1925.

The plight of the neutrals who made up a quarter of the student body during this period was woeful—the unfortunates who wished to join a fraternity but were not invited to do so were derisively termed "scrubs." Of the neutrals it was said:

A person who through choice or compulsion does not become a member of one of these societies has a continual fight to make, must endure the open taunts, the scornful laugh, and the silent contempt of those, who by their own decree have constituted themselves of the ARISTOC-RACY of the College. . . . The societies treated the neutrals with the most supreme contempt. They were not thought eligible to class offices. They paid for all college expenses their just share, and yet had no representation & their voice was not regarded. Except for purposes of taxation, they were scarcely considered a part of the college, and had no rights which any one was bound to respect. It was thought unnecessary to use that care in speaking evil of a neutral to a neutral, which was felt needful in speaking of a society man to a society man. The feeling was common that a neutral could be known at once by "the humility of his walk." The society men were forbidden to walk the streets with a neutral. . . . Society men were not permitted to room with a neutral. . . . The chapel and class work of neutrals was ridiculed, and mistakes of society men ignored. A member of '77 made it a principal argument with

a neutral that he must join his society to prevent being hissed, or drowned out with stamping when he attempted his part on chapel stage.⁴

In 1877 the antagonism between the college haves and have-nots came to a head. In that year the neutrals were denied representation on the committee in charge of the annual freshman class supper. In response they organized the Hamilton College Debating Club to which any student was welcomed. At the same time they established a boarding-house club whose members were able to obtain meals at rates lower than had been charged the students for years. So appealing was this feature that the DU's, who, despite the fact that their anti-secret attitude made them a group especially appealing to the neutrals, were in fact by this time an exclusive organization, were forced to imitate the now-organized neutrals with a similar but more expensive eating club.

One happy result of the upsurge of solidarity among the neutrals was the lessening of the practice of hazing. The torments which were then considered the proper lot of freshmen had fallen with particular heaviness upon the neutral first-year men who lacked the protection given to their society classmates by the older fraternity brothers.

Out of the Debating Club grew the Emerson Literary Society. This local organization was founded on March 11, 1882, by Robert Smith, '83; Channing M. Huntington and George A. Knapp, '84; and Irving F. Wood, '85. One of the new society's declared principles was to "oppose the evils of secret societies." ELS was initially strongly opposed by the other societies and in the columns of the Hamilton Literary Magazine, whose editorial board was firmly under fraternity control. When the antagonism was expressed in the Lit's editorials without the knowledge or consent of Harlow H. Loomis, '87, a member of the new society as well as on the journal's editorial board, he resigned. The Emersonians in protest founded their own publication, The Hamilton Review, which flourished until 1901, by which time the wounds had healed, and it merged with the older journal. At the same time a member of ELS took his place on the Lit's editorial board.

After a period of meeting in the tower rooms of the Chapel and in what is now the Grant House, Emerson Hall was built in 1897 in the lot between the Root Art Center and the Root farmhouse. This was destroyed by fire and resulted in the construction of the present building in 1929. As the society became older and more settled, a change of attitude toward the fraternity system was apparent among its members. In its early days, ELS had held that "all non-secret society students were entitled to membership." But shortly after the turn of the century, about 1904, an attack was made upon this principle. And for the next decade and a half there went on a struggle within the society over its status. The focal symbol of the conflict was the adoption of a fraternity pin. The matter was finally settled in 1918 by which time the College had grown large enough to man all the fraternities and still have a surplus of neutrals left over. The old problem had arisen again.

In 1923, a local fraternity, Lambda Xi Alpha, was founded by William H. G. Braunton, '25; Elmer J. Meloche, '25; and Henry W. Seeger, '26. The following year the new group rented the Lathrop house at the foot of the Hill and two years later purchased it outright. In 1929 the local chapter petitioned the national Tau Kappa Epsilon for affiliation and was accepted on November 22, 1930. Its local reputation was based less for some time on its high scholastic record than on its ownership of a green Ford station wagon which was the envy of other houses. In 1943 the chapter became inactive as a result of World War II. The chapter was reopened after the war and moved up into the old Morrill house which it still occupies.

In 1921 certain members of the Emerson Literary Society, desiring to affiliate themselves with a national fraternity, broke away to form the local Beta Kappa. Three years later, in 1924, the group petitioned to join the national Lambda Chi Alpha and was accepted. Living first in the old Psi U house at the first curve on the Hill, the chapter in 1949-1950 moved into the Fancher house which had been given to the College as a potential presidential mansion. After a period of serving as faculty housing, it became the home of

the Lambda Chi's before becoming the Dean's residence in 1957. In 1955 the College had notified the fraternity that its lease on the Fancher house could not be renewed. As a result, in 1957 the chapter bought the old Brandt house which had been built by Professor Herman Carl George Brandt. In 1958 the chapter left the national fraternity in a dispute over the discriminatory clauses in the national charter and re-established themselves as a local fraternity, taking its name, Gryphon, from the Babylonian symbol of half lion, half eagle, indicating the guardian of the freedom of man.

When the College had returned to normality after the first World War, the problems of the social life of the non-fraternity men were again scrutinized. Under the sponsorship of William Harder Squires, '88, professor of philosophy and Dean, the Decagon Society was formed in 1927-1928. The new body was short-lived, largely because the College was not able to provide facilities for it. The social rooms set aside in Silliman Hall proved inadequate and the group died. In the autumn of 1938 the problem was discussed with President Cowley and the following year, on January 10, 1939, a longer-lived solution was arrived at. The new group, named the Squires Club and intended as a haven for all non-fraternity men, was first given quarters in the Hall of Commons and later in Silliman Hall. The group ate together and maintained an active social program. In 1948 the Squires moved halfway down the hill, where it flourished, its members being noted for their academic achievements, until 1962, when, with the advent of total fraternity opportunity for undergraduates, it voted to disband.

Despite the criticisms raised against the fraternity system by the neutrals and based on charges of exclusivism and obvious excesses of electioneering, politicking and hazing over the years, the several houses played a major and in many ways beneficial part in the development of the College. For those students fortunate enough to belong to a "crowd," the close association over a four-year period brought great benefits: lasting and intimate friendships and lifelong loyalties to chapter and to college. Young and unsophisticated boys, coming for the most part from small-town environments, quickly

came under the guidance of upperclassmen who supervised their studies, protected them from physical indignities, and provided a sense of familial comradeship otherwise almost totally lacking in the isolated college, whose administration, like others of the times, for many years took little interest in the extra-curricular welfare of its charges. That from time to time there appeared to be a preponderance of fraternity influence among members of the Board of Trustees was perhaps inevitable.

The growth of a college athletic and social program and the technological changes which diminished the College's isolation altered to some extent the dependence of the students upon the fraternity system. On the other hand, the growth in size of the student body in the twentieth century resulted in a parallel dependence by the College upon the housing facilities of the fraternities.

Experiments on the part of the undergraduates, the faculty and the college administration over more than a hundred years to close the inevitable gap between members of fraternities and nonmembers culminated in the adoption in 1959-1960 of a program of total opportunity for all students to join a fraternity, a plan combined with deferred rushing which kept the freshmen together as a class for their first year. The system, adopted by the students themselves through their Senate after two years of close study and with rather complicated machinery operated again by the students under administrative supervision, covers the entire body of undergraduates, including the hard core of iconoclasts who for reasons of their own prefer to remain outside the system.

Literary Efforts

In December, 1832, there appeared the first of the undergraduate publications at the College. Under the guidance of John Wayland, professor of rhetoric, *The Talisman, a Literary Journal devoted to Original Essays and conducted by the Senior Class of Hamilton College*, was printed in Utica by Bennett and Bright at a subscription price of one dollar a year. Among the student editors the most influential was William Bradford, '33, who wrote stories and poetry for each issue. The thirty-two-page journal held little real college news. A major feature was the "mathematical problem" which young Oren Root, a member of the Class of 1833, contributed to each issue. The journal is principally worthy of note as the first American college magazine published outside of New England. It survived until September, 1834.

There was a hiatus in publications for over a decade, until, on April 13, 1848, *The Radiator* appeared. This "weekly miscellany of general literature, science, and foreign and domestic intelligence," although edited by representatives of six secret societies, was really the child of Alvin D. Williams, '49. The paper was published in Clinton and was the precursor of the Clinton *Courier* which still flourishes. Its "Literary Department" was under the editorial management of a "Committee of the senior class." Little college news appeared in its columns; much more space was given to political matters, domestic and foreign. It was published for a little under a year, its last issue appearing on March 29, 1849.

In 1856, in the spring, the senior class issued a pamphlet called the "Index," with twelve octavo pages. This contained the class lists, including all who had at any time been mem-

bers; the lists of the fraternities; the officers of the literary societies and of the Society of Christian Research; the alumni with the Clark Prize Orators; and the honor men of '56. Following, and commencing in 1859, there was issued about the opening of the spring term, a four-page folio, in which were illustrations of a crude sort, lists of the class societies and some records of games.

The first ten Hamiltonians were more college catalogues in newspaper form than yearbooks, although advertisements were added in 1862. In 1864 the price per issue was raised from five to eight cents and the following year the number of pages was increased to six. In 1872 the publication took the form of a pamphlet of fifty-six pages, put out by a committee of the senior class, including at the time non-fraternity men. Edward G. Love, A. B. Benedict, B. G. Smith, Arthur S. Hoyt and Arthur M. Wright formed the editorial committee. In 1873 the committee was enlarged to include a representative from each fraternity as well as a neutral. Three years later the responsibility for the publication was passed to the junior class. In 1877 the board of editors was first confined to members of the fraternities, a political move frustrated only in 1902 when a member of the anti-secret Emerson Literary Society was added. The Hamiltonian has continued to the present, growing steadily larger and better illustrated.

The Campus, a student weekly, was first published on March 31, 1866. This was a four-page quarto, printed in Utica by L. C. Childs and edited initially by Samuel J. Fisher, '67, with its editorial offices at "South, South 3d, Back, Middle." It appeared every Saturday, at a subscription price of \$2 a year. For the most part it devoted its columns to college affairs and to advertisements. The last issue was on February 2, 1870.

Three months after the *Campus*, the most long-lived Hamilton periodical was started. Two members of the Class of 1867, Amory H. Bradford and Isaac O. Best, were the mentors of the new *Hamilton Literary Monthly*. The paper, at a subscription price of \$3 a year, was designed to be literary rather than topical. The editors wished to include the best

writing done on the Hill and followed the policy of printing each year the prize-winning orations. An important section was the "Alumniana" column, written by Professor Edward North, who also contributed the valuable "Necrology." These represented the first conscious effort to keep the alumni in closer touch with college affairs. In the column entitled "The Editors' Table" appeared much historical material dealing with the College.

Although the *Campus* confined itself to topical news, a rivalry developed between the two journals. It was widely felt that the College could support only one publication and when the matter was put to the student body in 1869, a majority voted for a monthly magazine. The following year the *Campus* died while the *Hamilton Literary Monthly* continued in existence until 1933.

The first issue appeared in July, 1866. It contained the Clark Prize oration, a poem entitled "Forty-one" by Edward North, an essay on "Our Unknown Benefactors" by A. G. Hopkins and a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Western Alumni Association relative to the new library building. Professor North's "Necrology" was also a part of the initial issue. His "Alumniana" department did not appear until the first number of volume three. Although the first board of editors was composed of men from different fraternities, it does not seem to have been their intention to have a society-dominated paper. A little later, however, it was decided that each fraternity should have a representative on the board.

For the next thirty volumes the "Lit." continued as it had begun, save that in 1888 the composition of the editorial board was changed to include four juniors as well as four seniors. Each year the board held a festive dinner which was duly reported in its columns. In 1891, instead of the banquet, the board, accompanied by girls from the Houghton Seminary in the village, went on a joy ride to Madison Lake.

In June, 1896, the publication changed its name to the *Hamilton Literary Magazine*, with an even stronger policy of catering to the alumni as well as to the students. The journal continued to appear as a monthly up until 1922. Then there was a break in publication, to be ended in 1928. In that

year it appeared as a quarterly and continued as such until May, 1933. All through its long life it had unsuccessfully sought permanent offices in one of the college buildings.

The official college catalogue had first appeared in 1814. Although none was published in the next three years, or again in 1829, and some of the early years took the form of broadsides, the series has continued in increasing size and complexity to the present. In 1868, the fraternities thought it desirable to publish their own catalogue which duplicated the official one save that it contained information about the student societies.

In 1882 the Emerson Literary Society was founded as an organization opposed to the "evils of secret societies." Five years later, in June, 1887, the society started a student publication of its own, the *Hamilton Review*, in opposition to the allegedly fraternity-controlled "Lit." The columns of the *Review* were open to any student contributors, whether they belonged to secret societies or not. The new journal was published six times a year, at a subscription price of \$1.50. The *Review*, which was considered by many of the faculty to be a better publication than its older rival, continued until December, 1901, when ELS made its peace with the fraternities and merged the *Review* with the *Literary Magazine*.

On June 7, 1899, just before the summer recess, there appeared a new venture, *Hamilton Life*, a student newspaper, catering primarily to the undergraduates and giving little space to alumni affairs. This was started by Charles C. Hawley, '99; Robert S. Waddell, '00; B. Northrup Holbrook, '00; and Ralph H. Sheppard, '00. Its news was given over almost entirely to current college affairs and its pages held much local advertising. The subscription price of the weekly was \$1.75 a year. The publication lasted until the issue of May, 1942.

In June, 1921, the undergraduates celebrated the coming of the Gay Twenties with the publication of the Royal Gaboon, a humor magazine that was published six times a year. For the year 1926 the name was changed to The Chaperon. From 1927 to 1932 the original title was resumed. Then for two years the publication continued as the Continental.

From 1935 to 1941 it was known as the Royal Gaboon and Continental. In 1942, the Gaboon was superseded by the Continental, which in turn had its place taken by Hamiltonews from October 9, 1942, to June 5, 1947. On October 6, 1947, the present weekly student newspaper The Spectator took the place of Hamiltonews.

In January, 1902, there appeared the *Hamilton Record*, published quarterly and designed primarily for the alumni of the College. President Stryker was responsible for this journal which continued until October, 1916. The last issue held a directory of living alumni.

The Alumni Review was started under President Ferry in 1935. Its first number, dated October, 1935, was under the editorship of Professor Edward Fitch. This successor to the Record has continued to the present.

Dwight and Penny: Early Fund Raisers

The period of disruption through which Henry Davis had guided the College had brought to a head most of the basic problems of the institution. It was settled that Hamilton was to remain a college, and not become a glorified high school; that its curriculum would remain fundamentally a classical liberal arts course; that a stubborn president could outwit and outwait a predominantly hostile Board of Trustees. Once these points had been agreed on, the College started to recover, the number of students increased, the ranks of the faculty were again filled. But the one overriding problem remained: how to achieve financial stability. Davis had served the college well, but at the time of his resignation in 1832, the institution was heavily in debt, and the history of much of the next seven decades is concerned with unsuccessful struggles to get on a stable economic footing.

Early in March, 1832, Davis was considering resigning and the selection of a successor was under way. Charles B. Hadduck, professor of rhetoric at Dartmouth, was for a time discussed as a possibility for the post. Back in 1830 he had been elected Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres by the Board at a salary of \$800. He had declined and John Wayland, brother of the president of Brown University, had come in his place.

When, however, in August, 1832, Davis actually offered his letter of resignation, to take effect upon the election of his successor, the Board turned to the Reverend Ichabod S. Spencer of Brooklyn, offering him a salary of \$1,500. A graduate of Union College in 1822, Spencer had served in Presbyterian churches in western New York and at Northampton,

Massachusetts, before accepting a call to the Brooklyn church. He was a founder and an early director of the Union Theological Seminary. Later that autumn Spencer came to visit the College as Davis' guest. While he was on the Hill, he visited the rooms of Thomas Willard Seward, '33, in which, as Seward recalled the occasion fifty years later, the clergyman saw a violoncello. The sight moved Spencer to tell a "story in which there figured a bass viol, a Scotch preceptor, and a Scotch parson. Although the story was capitally told, Dr. Davis did not seem to take it kindly." Spencer took his time in making up his mind about the presidency and did not decline the offer until March, 1833. In 1841 the College honored him with a Doctorate of Divinity.

Somewhat earlier, in December, 1832, Benjamin W. Dwight, grandson of Yale's Timothy Dwight, and himself a graduate of that college, had been elected treasurer of the College, succeeding the late Othniel Williams, the stalwart supporter of Henry Davis. Williams' accounting methods, which relied chiefly on his memory, made his successor's task difficult for many months. When Spencer declined the presidency, Benjamin's brother, Sereno E. Dwight of New Haven, was elected in March, 1833, at a salary of \$1,000, plus a house and \$4 for each student up to an enrollment of two hundred. He accepted in mid-April.

Sereno, also a graduate of Yale, had been a lawyer, one-time chaplain of the United States Senate, pastor of the Park Street Church in Boston, and master of a proprietary boarding school in New Haven. He was a tall, dignified and learned person, considered by many to be "the handsomest man in America," and was popular on the Hill, being a knowledgeable instructor and a splendid orator. His life, however, had for many years been made miserable by the "salt rheum" from the aftereffects of a mercury treatment for a lung fever contracted in his early manhood, which he faithfully treated with Morrison's pills at three dollars a box. Indeed, when he wrote to his brother on the subject of accepting the presidency, most of his letter was filled with a graphic description of his ailment.¹

Despite his academic interests and qualifications, his task

was to be largely one of money raising. He was apparently not informed of the true financial condition of the College before he took office. He had the impression that there remained assets amounting to some \$6,000 and that, although the College was running at an annual deficit of \$3,000, the reserve would give him at least two years in which to put the institution back on its feet. The fact was quite different; the College actually owed some \$10,000, and was falling further behind each year, for the annual income and outgo by no means matched. Receipts from tuition paid no more than half of the instructional salaries. Debts owed by graduates, who had been allowed to sign notes instead of paying their bills in hard cash, amounted to more than \$8,000. Ten members of the faculty were owed sums ranging from three hundred dollars to over \$7,000. The College buildings and grounds were in disrepair to such an extent that the carpenter hired to do the work said, "I feel almost as though I was treading on forbidden ground as every thing almost wants attention and I do not know what to do first. . . . "2

Dwight did not discover the true condition until three months after his acceptance. In June he learned that the institution was not only bankrupt in its character, as he put it bitterly, but also bankrupt in its fortunes. Instead of having "one farthing of funds," it owed \$10,000. Had Dwight known this earlier, and it is difficult to understand why he did not, seeing that his brother was treasurer of the College, he would not have taken the post.

"In submission to a stern necessity," in July, 1833, Dwight, aided by his brother and Charles Avery, Class of 1820 and for many years professor of chemistry and natural philosophy, set about raising a fund of \$50,000 within a year, an amount roughly replacing the original private endowment (of which, however, only three-fourths had actually been collected), and to be used to endow the chairs of instruction. Dwight described the twelve-month period as "ever memorable as a year of gloom and perplexity, and universal pecuniary embarrassment . . ." calling for "unceasing toil, & mortification & self-denial," conditions underlined in his own particular case by the fact that necessary repairs to the presidential

house could not be afforded and that he and his family had to board out nearly all the time they stayed in Clinton. Dwight's efforts were not the least helped by the general feeling among the Board members and the community at large that he would be unsuccessful.

Despite the fact that the country as a whole was enduring a depression and that the region adjacent to the College was afflicted by an outbreak of cholera, Dwight was successful within the year in garnering pledges mounting to nearly \$50,000, all given with the stipulation that the total sum had to be accounted for by June 30, 1834. At the last minute the Trustees had to raise \$4,000 by their own pledges in order to pass the goal, a step which cast some doubt on the liability of the other subscribers. The Board voted Dwight \$300 in thanks for his efforts. During this period the College itself economized to the utmost: the faculty received little more than half their pay and even the most necessary repairs to the buildings were postponed. It was, therefore, a most bitter blow for Dwight to learn, just after the success of his drive for his Permanent Fund, that the college debts still amounted to a least one-quarter of the amount he had raised.

Dwight felt that there were few avenues of escape for the College. Appeals to the legislature were unlikely to be fruitful. An attempt to have that body appropriate \$50,000 to match the results of the drive was abortive. Union College owed Hamilton considerable sums in connection with the lottery which had been granted so many years earlier, the collection of which had been taken over by Eliphalet Nott; but, although the College was making the most vigorous representations to Union throughout this period, no funds were immediately forthcoming from Schenectady. The other source of income, the payment of sums owed by old graduates, had after a year's intensive effort yielded only \$459 out of a total of \$8,000 owed.

Against this background the president came to feel that fundamental changes were necessary if the College was to flourish. The solution he considered best was the removal of the College to Utica, abandoning the Clinton location. In Utica he found warm support for such a step and in his fund-

raising efforts he more than hinted that the move would take place. Dwight had not reckoned on the violent objections to so drastic a step from influential alumni and from other neighboring communities, particularly from Clinton. The issue came before the Board of Trustees on September 29, 1835, and was rejected. Whereupon Dwight presented a vitriolic letter of resignation which was accepted. He took care to point out that, notwithstanding the capital sums he had raised, the College stood \$16,000 in debt, of which \$9,000 was already in judgment with executions upon the College buildings possible at any time. He then withdrew his own pledge of \$500 to the fund. The Board in turn voted him \$100 for his money-raising efforts, giving it to him in the form of a bond. As soon as there should be any available funds in the treasury, he was also to receive \$500 on his back salary.

Following Dwight's indignant resignation over the failure of the Board to consider a removal of their charge to Utica—a decision which cost the College the financial support of George Washington Bethune, the Dutch Reformed clergyman who had held a pastorate in Utica and whose earlier loan of \$10,000 had tided the College over a particularly stringent period—the Board quickly selected Joseph Penney for the presidency at a salary of \$1,500.

Penney, educated at the University of Dublin and a successful minister first in Rochester and later in Northampton, Massachusetts, inherited the financial problems Dwight had struggled to solve. His administration, lasting only three years, was marked by another financial drive, the highlight of which constituted a series of pledges made by friends in Rochester. These, known as the Rochester Funds, later formed the basis of an acrimonious dispute between Penney and the College.

Penney, accustomed to the academic discipline of European schools, did not have a happy time at Hamilton. The students resented his ideas of curbing their natural exuberance, particularly since the president was not averse to the laying on of hands to subdue undergraduate excesses. His Irish origin, coupled to his idiosyncratic belief in the efficacy of

whitewash, were a rallying point for student resentment. By the president's order, the College's buildings were whitewashed inside and out, to the increasing disgust of the student body. Whether the daubing of Penney's sorrel horse and red calf with the wash, or the indelible and larger-than-life caricatures of him brandishing a potato at the end of a fork on the whitewashed walls at the north end of South College was the cause of his final decision to leave, is not clear from the records. He did, however, submit a letter of resignation on January 23, 1839, which indicated quite clearly his dissatisfaction and feeling that the magnitude of his task had not been clearly outlined at the time he took the post.

Simeon North's "Steady Advancement"

When Penney resigned in disgust in 1839, his administration marred by the eternal problem of raising money, a situation further exacerbated by a lack of rapport between the president and Treasurer Benjamin Dwight, the Board of Trustees decided, in some desperation and only by a majority vote, to promote the professor of classical languages to the office. Only after Simeon North had accepted the appointment was the matter of his salary settled—\$1,500 a year, plus the use of the presidential mansion. Since North preferred to continue living in his own place—now the Grant House—the old mansion became available for faculty housing, an arrangement which called for some recompense to the president for the loss of this perquisite. It was finally worked out that the rental paid by the faculty incumbent, which in 1847 amounted to \$100 a year, should be remitted to North.

The new president had been graduated from Yale in 1825. Although he then had studied at the Yale Theological Seminary, he decided that teaching rather than preaching should be his vocation. After a three-year term as tutor at Yale, he came to Clinton in 1829 to take over the instruction in the ancient languages, arriving on the Hill at its darkest hour, just after President Davis had established his victory over the Board of Trustees. Seven years later, in 1836, this department received the support of S. Newton Dexter of Whitesboro, whose father had been the first manufacturer of cotton goods in the United States. Dexter, who had joined the Board of Trustees in 1835, was at the time a successful businessman, much interested in the promotion of canals. For many years he enthusiastically supported the College, and when

business reverses later in life prevented him from donating as much as he would have wished, he was a sadly disappointed man. Even so, his gifts amounted to some \$23,000, making him the largest early donor to the College. Simeon North became the first incumbent of the Dexter Chair of Classical Literature, which Dexter supported for a long time.

North, who remained in the community for the remainder of his life, was so quiet and retiring that he made little impression on his students or colleagues at first, but later he became generally popular. He was remembered as the only non-pompous faculty member of the time, a man who walked like anyone else, instead of "stalking along with measured stride, eyes fixed on empty space, thinking cosmic thoughts."

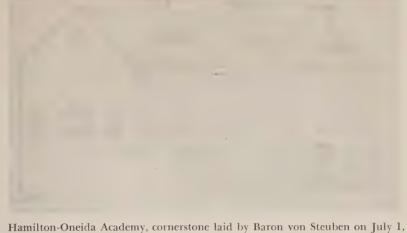
North's administration, which lasted for eighteen years, was marked by a slow progress in college affairs. However, it too was hampered by financial troubles. When he took office, although the treasury had benefited by the fund-raising abilities of his two immediate predecessors, the College was still operating in the red. The subscriptions to Dwight's Permanent Fund were but slowly honored, and only after considerable pressure, coupled with threats of legal action unless the delinquent subscribers were willing to sign waivers under the statute of limitations which would have released them from their pledges. The contributions received under Penney had been concentrated in what came to be known as the Rochester Funds, subscriptions pledged more in support of the man than of the College. The College's claims to these were the subject of bitter dispute between the former president and the institution-a dispute only settled after the lapse of two or three years.

In 1836 the State Legislature had started an annual grant of \$3,000. Shortly after the initiation of this state policy of aid to education, the continuation of the grant had been endangered by an undergraduate petition to the legislature, instigated by a crusading anti-slavery representative named Shepard. The petition had angered the legislators in Albany and only with difficulty and embarrassment did President Penney and the conservative faculty disavow the action of their students. In doing so, they had in turn alienated Ger-

rit Smith's mercurial affection for the College. The state grant was forbidden by the new State constitution of 1846. All such aid terminated in 1850. That the dropping of the subvention was a serious blow to the struggling College may be seen from the fact that \$34,000 was given by the state between 1838 and 1849.

Some indication of the financial problems North inherited may be gained from the treasurer's report for Penney's last year. The total income, including \$2,541 from tuition, amounted to \$17,739.25. Expenses, including faculty salaries of \$8,860.37, came to \$17,435.50, leaving a surplus of \$303.75, of which \$193.58 had been borrowed from the Permanent Fund, which amounted at the time to \$55,494.20. However, the College was \$16,003.78 in debt, even counting most optimistically all the potential sources of income from subscribers, donors and interest. The Rochester Funds drive had not been successful. The treasurer had hoped that this debt might be paid off in eight years, provided expenses did not increase. The treasurer pointed out that perhaps the worse circumstance was the non-payment of student fees, stemming in large part from the action of the Board in 1835, which decided that under certain lenient circumstances tuition might be remitted. The faculty was in part to blame for a situation which prevented the payment of their own salaries, for they had to approve the remission of the students' fees. Moreover, the number of undergraduates in residence was inflated-the treasurer wrote in 1839: "the College is sometimes said to contain 90 students, but this is a mere fiction of the imagination. Of the 74 actually there, 20 or 21 have their tuition remitted, so that the income from tuition actually is about \$1,350. Since faculty salaries amount to \$6,400, there is an income deficiency of \$5,050, to be made up from other sources." Then, in a very modern view, he pointed out that the cost of educating even those students who paid their bills in full was upward of \$120 a year, whereas the boys subscribed only \$25.25 a year. He said that the Trustees

have no money to appropriate towards objects not indispensably necessary. They have not the means of remod-



Hamilton-Oneida Academy, cornerstone laid by Baron von Steuben on July 1, 1794. Razed 1830.



Kirkland Cottage, built by Samuel Kirkland in 1791.



Alumni House, built in 1802, President's mansion 1813-1866.



The Commons, 1812-1820, birthplace of Elihu Root in 1845.



Knox Hall, 1883-1926, a remodelling of the First Commons.



Buttrick Hall, restored in 1926.







Left: The Chapel, 1827.

Above: Chapel interior, late nine-

teenth century.

Below: Chapel interior, 1949.



South College, Hamilton Hall, 1814.



"Old South," Hungerford Hall, renovated 1873 and razed 1906.



South College, 1907.



Middle College, Kirkland Hall, built 1821-1825.



Soper Gymnasium, remodelled from Middle College in 1891.



Kirkland Hall, Middle College, 1962.



Gymnasium, 1853.



Alumni Gymnasium, 1940.



Chemistry Building, 1853-1897.



Chemistry Building, 1903, remodelled 1930.



North College, 1824, completed 1842.



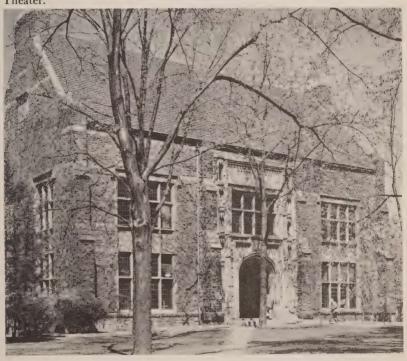
Litchfield Observatory, 1858-1918.



Silliman Hall, 1889.



Perry H. Smith Library, 1872-1914, remodelled 1962 as Clark H. Minor Theater.



Ellen Curtiss James Library, 1914.



Soper Hall of Commons, 1903.



Benedict Hall of Languages, 1897.



Root Hall, 1897.



Truax Hall of Philosophy, 1900.



Root Art Center, 1804.



Carnegie Hall, 1904.



Science Building, 1925.



The campus in the 1830's.



Earliest photograph of the campus, circa 1860.



The modern campus.



Dunham Dormitory, 1958.



The Hill, 1812-1962.



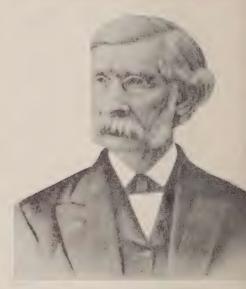
Azel Backus, first President, 1812-1816.



Henry Davis, President, 1817-1833.







Left: Elihu Root, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, 1909-1937.

Above: Melancthon Woolsey Stryker, President, 1892-1917.

Below: Edward North ("Old Greek"), Professor of Languages, 1843-1902.

elling the College. They have not the means of supporting any more professorships. They have not the means of improving any of the College grounds or buildings, beyond what is absolutely necessary for their preservation.²

In a similar report dated July, 1845, he indicated that from 1836-1845, 51 students had fees remitted to the amount of \$4,181.19.

In 1841, relief came to the hard-pressed College with the final settlement of the long-drawn-out dispute with Union College over the sale of lottery tickets, dating back to 1817, an accounting which amounted to some \$10,000 and allowed the College to reduce a few of its more pressing debts.

One of the first steps North took to strengthen and expand the College was to raise, largely from S. Newton Dexter, the sum needed to complete North College, which had stood boarded up and desolate since 1825. Even so, the completion was undertaken in two steps, with the southern half of the building being finished first in 1842. The northern section had to wait another four years, when the work was done at the cost of \$1,200 which was raised by special subscription. The building was named Dexter Hall after the Whitesboro manufacturer and was first used as a dormitory in 1843.

By 1850 the financial situation had improved hardly at all. The annual expenditures of the College amounted to some \$11,000 and the income from all sources came only to \$8,900. From \$2,500 to \$3,000 more was needed each year. The importance of the state's contribution which ended in that year can easily be seen.

Now it again became necessary to appeal to the public and particularly to the churches for assistance in building up the endowment of the College. The basic needs were felt to be a chair of moral science, an observatory, a botanic garden and a larger library—the sum necessary to achieve these ends estimated at \$30,000. To raise this amount, an endeavor in which the services of Charles Avery were again enlisted, an ingenious scheme was adopted, which proved to become a main cause of the subsequent poverty of the College, and which by its nature forced the caliber of the matriculants to

deteriorate. Indeed as late as the summer of 1961 the program continued to inspire the hopes of descendants of the original subscribers.

Perhaps no better description of this scheme of raising money has been given than that written in 1852 by Simeon North:

With every intelligent parent it is a serious question how he can best contribute to the welfare of his children. He is anxious to have them so educated that they may hope to reach an honorable position and influence in society. He thinks it a worthy object to accumulate property for the use of his descendants. Yet in this country, it is well known that the surest way of perpetuating the blessings of wealth, without its evils, is to bestow it for a permanent investment upon some public institution—large gifts and bequests are frequently made for objects purely charitable. Others are sometimes made on such conditions that the donor shares with the public in the benefits of his donation. Of this nature are the gifts now solicited for Hamilton College- . . . An effort is on foot for raising \$30,000 for these excellent purposes. It is not asked that this sum be presented to the College as a free gift; but that it be loaned as a permanent investment with the certainty of its yielding a valuable return. On the part of the College it is covenanted that the donor of every \$100 shall be entitled to a Limited Scholarship, or the privilege of having one student instructed four years without any college charge; and that every donor of \$500 shall be entitled to a Perpetual Scholarship, or the privilege of always having one student instructed gratuitously.

In measuring the liberality of this proposal, it should be considered that Hamilton College is not a new, unsettled, or unthrifty Institution; but one of some years' growth, of known stability, and high character. It is now in its forty first year, and has eight hundred living alumni, who are interested more or less deeply in its prosperity and usefulness. Its location is most favorable to studious habits, good health and good morals. It has a permanent

fund of \$70,000, six substantial buildings, and only needs the incumbent of a single Professorship to complete its corps of instructors. Its existing Faculty is acknowledged to be able and faithful.

The regular college bills of a student would amount to about \$200 in four years. By paying in advance for a limited scholarship, a discount of fifty per cent is gained to the parent. The owner of a perpetual Scholarship will carry to his grave the comfort of knowing that he has secured to—it may be—a long line of descendants that greatest earthly boon, a good education, and that hundreds will hereafter bless him for his forethoughtful generosity. He can congratulate himself that he has made a good bargain and bought his Scholarship cheap. In the present state of the College, the bargain may be reckoned a great one. Fifty years from now the means of the college may be doubled; and then, of course, the value of the scholarship will be increased. . . .

... Churches are also interested in this matter. The calls for clergymen are now so frequent, and so often unanswered, that the necessity of assisting candidates for the ministry is coming to be felt and acknowledged. The desirableness of church scholarships is so evident, that a number of them have been already offered.

The officers of college residing in Clinton have expressed their interest in this enterprise by subscribing \$2,200. Other citizens of the place have subscribed \$1,100, and will yet do more...³

This scheme, which enjoyed a life of five years and was so modern in many of its points, might have aided the College had the sums raised become endowment. Instead, so desperate were the straits of the College, that the subscriptions were dissipated on current expenses.

North was plagued throughout his long term in office by these fiscal problems despite an increasing insistence on the part of the faculty and administration that the students pay their bills—in 1846 it was decreed that no diplomas should be given to students not in good financial standing at commencement time. Income never balanced outgo, salaries remained low and often unpaid. Even as late as 1850, at a time when the remission of tuition was being cut down, sixteen students received this benefit at a cost to the College of nearly \$1,400. In April, 1857, the year of his resignation, North submitted to a special meeting of the Board a report stating that the College was, despite all the efforts of earlier years, \$20,000 in debt. His solution was for more of the same disastrous sale of scholarships, with a goal now set at \$50,000. In the same report he pointed out that Hamilton had in the past few years met with increasing competition from nine new colleges, all established in the region from which Hamilton drew her students. He stated that in these newer institutions, students were either admitted free or at rates much lower than those on the Hill. In the same period Hamilton's competitors for undergraduates had, by one means or another, been able to build up funds which allowed them to offer their students much more scholarship aid than could be had in Clinton.

The panic of 1857 was the end. North had been saddened by the death in 1851 of his only son Thomas. When it became evident that he would have once again to face up to a major appeal to the public for funds—a duty he had never enjoyed—and when he was made the chairman of the committee to conduct the drive and to appeal to the legislature for assistance, he decided to quit, provided that the College would first make arrangements to pay him his back salary. In his letter of resignation, he stated that when he had first known the College, Hamilton had "possessed nothing which could entitle it to the rank of a College except an inheritance of distinguished names among its alumni. . . . Its financial department was then in a state of bankruptcy: its buildings with but two exceptions, in a state of dilapidation, & fast going to ruin: . . . It had neither public confidence nor public support." During his eighteen-year administration, the endowment of the College had risen to nearly \$100,000 and its buildings made fit for use. North thought of his term of office as being conservative and progressive at the same time.

Public Speaking

From the beginning, oratory and public speaking have stood high at Hamilton College. While there can be but little doubt that Hamilton has been justified in its pride in its public speaking program, it must be acknowledged that its unique quality probably lies in the massive position it has occupied in the curriculum over the years. At the start, the program was not of course peculiar to the College. The educational institutions of the early nineteenth century and before were producing candidates for the ministry and the law. Inevitably, adequate training in speech—the stock in trade of both professions—was considered a necessary part of the curriculum.¹

The Laws of the College, published in 1813, gave much attention to the subject. Of the freshmen "one student is required to declaim every day before his tutor and class. And to declaim in the chapel before the Faculty and all the students, as often as it shall be thought proper by the faculty, taking into consideration the numbers in the classes." For the second-year students the requirement was "One composition in rotation and one declamation each day." The junior sophisters, each Wednesday, had to give their attention to "English composition and declamation, with the addition of Forensic Disputation." During the first term of the senior year, the upperclassmen were to engage in forensic disputation twice a week at 4 o'clock. This pattern was continued in the second term with more disputations and a study of Duncan's Logic and Locke's On the Understanding, "with the exhibition of arguments and sentences." To underscore the importance of the program, the following year, on September 13, the Board of Trustees appropriated fifteen dollars each year for prizes for students in this field.

It was not necessary, then any more than now, to accept as established fact what the laws or catalogues of an educational institution laid down as curricular practice. Indeed, there is evidence from the memories of Hamilton graduates that the early official training in public speaking was considered by the undergraduates to be a waste of time. This is not to say that the students did not take this part of their training seriously. They did, but in the halls of their literary societies rather than in the classroom. Both Philopeuthians and Phoenicians entered the forensic lists with enthusiasm backed by hard work, submitting to caustic criticism from their fellows and the imposition of fines for speeches not delivered. Ferdinand deWitt Ward, '31, only half-jocularly recalled later that he and two friends "used to go to the neighboring ravine and while two stood upon one bank to hear and criticize, the other from the opposite bank held forth with the lungs of a Stentor and the eloquence of-well, Demosthenes or Cicero. . . . ''2

In 1823, the catalogue stated at the end of the list of courses, that "in all the classes there are stated and frequent exercises, in Composition and Declamation; and in Junior and Senior Classes, of Forensic Disputation also, before their instructors." This sentence appeared annually unchanged until 1838 when it was augmented by the following: "On Wednesday and Saturday students attend public exercises in the Chapel of Declamation, Select Translations from the Classics, Original Essays, and Specimens in Oratory."

In addition to the prescribed exercises and the weekly use made of these skills in the literary societies, the College itself made another major demand upon each student as he reached the end of his course. From 1815 to about 1885, every senior spoke at commencement, a gala performance held in the village church, lasting all day, and attracting an audience from the neighboring communities. Not for any slight reason could a student escape from this appearance before his fellows, faculty, Trustees, parents and friends who crowded the church to its walls. Indeed, when in 1835, James

A. Platt, valedictorian of that year's class and later a lawyer of substance, sought to avoid the ordeal because of his excessive bashfulness, the faculty did not feel itself competent to pass on the case and drew it to the attention of the Board of Trustees. There the matter was debated with the utmost seriousness and Platt excused from the task only after a tied vote had been broken by the chairman.

A second public appearance which placed the undergraduates on their speaking mettle was started in 1822 when the junior class began to hold an exhibition each year, usually in early April. On this occasion, each junior, wearing his own swallowtail coat—or one borrowed from a wealthier student and quickly changed between speeches—delivered an oration of his own composition. Until 1850 each such program began with an original Latin oration. In 1838 one of the participants spoke in Greek, and shortly thereafter other students strove to impress their audiences with their knowledge of French. It was not until the middle of the century that all the speeches were delivered in English.

In the early days "Junior Ex" started at 10:30 in the morning and continued all afternoon. Later the hours were changed and the afternoons and evenings were given over to the students' performance. These affairs, enlivened with band music, were attended by critical audiences from Utica and farther, and soon rivaled commencement in popularity. In 1850 another feature was added to the celebrations: the sophomore class prepared and distributed burlesque programs to the audience—fly sheets which lampooned the performers and faculty. In the beginning these were innocent enough, but in the late sixties they displayed elements of vulgarity verging on the extremes of bad taste. This practice, although it was toned down after several years, had a bearing on the abolition of Junior Ex in 1879.

It was not until 1841 that the foundation for the College's later reputation in the field of public speaking was really established. Prior to that time, the president, aided by his faculty colleagues, had directed the work. In that year, the Reverend Henry Mandeville, a graduate of Union College and of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, who had

been elected a trustee in 1838, was voted into the chair of moral philosophy and rhetoric. Mandeville had previously been a successful pastor, having served at the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Albany, a post also held by Presidents Fisher and Darling. At the time of his appointment to the college faculty, he was pastor of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in Utica.

Mandeville quickly introduced elocution as an important part of the first term work for freshmen. When his *Elements of Reading and Oratory*—an involved work which, without omitting the necessary but complicated rules and examples, might well have been condensed into a primer, according to a later judgment—was published in 1845, it became the prescribed text. Under Mandeville the freshmen had to endure six classes each week. The routine was strict: "rules were learned and practice given under each Mandevillian rule and then class-room drill in punctuating, inflecting, emphasizing—and rendering according to the marked inflections and emphasis."

Mandeville's system demanded that the structure of the sentence should control its delivery. Of its intricacy, even when refined and simplified through the long years of its use, student editorial opinion said as late as 1908:

without pausing to debate the value of the Mandeville system when mastered, it is obvious that a course which does not provide for its mastery is futile. After Fall term, the Freshmen abandon the slides and falls forever. A diligent search has failed to reveal a single man who has used the system since then in his Chapel work. We drop it because we do not need it, and could not understand it if we did. Prof. White admits that it took him three years to master the system sufficiently to make any use of it. And yet we go on teaching it with a fatuous clutch on the past which is amazing. To the memorization of a set of wondrous rules and instructions, four hours a week for thirteen weeks is cheerfully surrendered—more time, mind you, than we give to required Physics, to the History of England, or to the study of Greek and Mediaeval Philosophy.

When will it stop?3

The importance of such courses—despite their shortcomings—was immensely enhanced by the abolition of class honors in 1844. Thereafter the only competitions open to students were those in declamation and oratory. To be a prize declaimer became the main honor in the College; and the schemes or programs of junior exhibition and of commencement itself, arranged by Mandeville on the basis of the speaking ability of the students, fixed the relative status of the undergraduates in their class. The first was the poorest; the last the best. From 1844 until 1854, the decade in which normal honors were not striven for, the live ambitions of the students were perforce directed into rhetorical channels.

Two years after Mandeville's arrival, the faculty adopted the rule that each week on Wednesday and Saturday all the undergraduates were required to meet in the Chapel to attend exercises consisting of declamations, selected translations from the classics, and original essays and orations. These meetings, termed "rhetoricals," continued for nearly a hundred years. Their chief virtue was that they gave each student an opportunity for practice speaking under criticism of the harshest kind.

Until the eighties four freshmen, four sophomores, and four juniors gave declamations before the assembled college each Wednesday at noon. On Saturday at the same hour two from each of the lower classes read essays, two juniors presented discussions, and two seniors gave orations. In theory and often in actuality, then, each student spoke before a large, if captive and always critical audience, five or six times in each of his first three years.

In 1849, Mandeville, who had lived for a time in the old presidential mansion, resigned, to serve as a pastor in Albany and later in Mobile, Alabama, where he died in 1858. There were elements of tragedy and comedy in his leaving. In common with his colleagues, he felt the need to supplement his salary; this he did by writing and by lecturing. In January, 1849, he sought a year's leave of absence to serve as a lecturer on elocution for the D. Appleton publishing firm, thereby

hoping to increase the market for his *Elements*, beside receiving \$2,000 for his efforts. He made the tactical error of offering his resignation, under the assumption that it would be treated as a sabbatical. At the same time that he made this proposal he came up with what Edward North, the president's nephew and no partisan of the elocutionist, termed "a grand, dazzling and peculiar scheme for the endowment of his Professorship." This proposal, in North's words, called for:

The Faculty to open the subscription with \$250, the president to add \$500, and the Trustees to subscribe \$5,000 more. With this amount as his backer the Professor was to make an effort in the great cities of the Union, aiming to reach the purses of wealthy individuals, and giving to the object the proceeds of his day lectures on Elocution. Returning from his lecturing tour he would scour the country and persevere until he had raised the sum of \$20,000. With the interest of this fund he would receive a salary of \$1,200 and surplus of \$200 would go to the Library. The salaries of all the other professors would also be raised to \$1,200 and their subscriptions to be paid on this condition.

North tersely adds in his diary entry of January 31: "The plan was talked about [in a faculty meeting] for a couple of hours and then dismissed as objectionable."

On April 1 the subject of Mandeville's "resignation" came before the Trustees, who accepted it. North's comment reads: "To Mr. Mandeville today's doings will be like a clap of thunder from a clear sky, unexpected and astounding."

When Mandeville left, his duties were split in two, and the Reverend James R. Boyd was elected to give the instruction in moral philosophy as well as to serve as college chaplain. Before his election Boyd's advocates gave out the powerful argument that a full or large partial endowment would be forthcoming as a consequence of his choice. He was credited in the College community with rich friends who were supposed to contribute liberally to such a project. After he got the job, however, nothing more was heard of the pro-

posal, and it was considered that he had procured the post by false pretenses. In any case he had not been the choice of the faculty or indeed of the community.

Under the circumstances, Boyd did not last long on the Hill. By chance the number of entering students that term was considerably smaller than usual, a matter of concern to a faculty which largely depended on tuition fees for their salaries. Boyd's opponents laid the blame at his threshold. Nor was he popular with the undergraduates. When he sought to give a course in the Greek Testament to the sophomores on Monday mornings, the students objected so strenuously to his teaching that Edward North was requested to resume the task.

The boys objected to Boyd on another score. Although he was a third-rate preacher, delivering flat and stale sermons, he insisted on preaching twice each Sabbath. Edward North's comments in his diary on one of his sermons are quotable:

Professor Boyd preached but thirty minutes in the P.M. yet he succeeded in putting freshman Cook in so deep a sleep that he clung to his rest during the concluding hymn, the benediction and the noise made by the students leaving the Chapel. The students returned to the Chapel after the Faculty had retired and had a merry time over the subject of Prof. Boyd's magnetic eloquence and whether the distillation of one of the preacher's discourses would not yield more opium than the same bulk in poppies.⁵

The protests came to a head in November, 1849. At the annual sophomore bonfire, a number of members of that class, supposedly egged on by Mandeville's son—for Mandeville felt no close friendship for the man who had taken his place—dressed themselves as Indians and painted their faces in disguise. First they stole Boyd's privy, carried it to the traditional spot in front of the Chapel where it was used as the nucleus of their fire. After other wooden depredations had been made from the premises of faculty and community for the enlargement of the blaze, Boyd's horse was taken from its stall and ridden about the campus until it was ex-

hausted, all to the accompaniment of the wild ringing of the Chapel bell. The final insult to Boyd came when he was burned in effigy, the dummy being clothed in "a study robe and wig and . . . danced about and halloed over in a most fiendish and insulting manner." At an investigating faculty meeting held two days later, Boyd announced his determination to resign, feeling, with justification, that all the students, whether wild or studious by nature, were dissatisfied with his ministrations. He suggested that after a replacement had been found, he could serve the College better in the role of fund-raiser. Two days later he resigned to become a financial agent for the College. The Board elected the Reverend James McDonald of Jamaica, Long Island, to take his place but the appointment was refused.

To take over the other part of Mandeville's duties, Anson J. Upson was elected adjunct professor of belles lettres at a salary of \$700. Upson, a member of the Class of 1843, had joined the faculty two years after his graduation. Aside from his college duties, Upson is remembered as an early member of the Clinton Rural Art Society, founded in 1854, which did so much to beautify both village and campus.

It was during the twenty-one years that Upson had charge of the speaking program, that that part of the curriculum reached its highest point of effectiveness. As an undergraduate Upson had been exposed fully to the rigorous drilling of Mandeville, and, basing his techniques upon the Mandevillian classifications of which he fundamentally approved, he gave life to a routine program, deprecating an inflammatory style of speaking, and introducing into the discussions and debates contemporary and controversial topics more stimulating to the undergraduates. Under him, the department acquired life and reputation. In attaining this end, Upson was aided greatly by the pastoral existence on the Hill. In that era student life was not demanding; there were no organized athletics; entertainments such as house parties were far in the future; upperclassmen in the fraternities coached and drilled their juniors in the rhetorical preparations. As a result, the two annual occasions on which the students could publicly exhibit their rhetorical mettle were ex-

tremely newsworthy and were covered by the local newspapers who commented at length on the abilities of the various contestants.

The work of outstanding student speakers was recognized by the Trustees' action in 1813 as worthy of prize recognition. A contest in declamation was begun in 1829. In the beginning this included freshmen and sophomore speakers. Later four appointees from each of the three lower classes were entered and the freshmen dropped. The contest was held in the evening before commencement and two prize awards of books were made to those adjudged the best speakers in each class. When in 1866, Charles C. Kingsley, '52, contributed largely to the endowment of Upson's chair of logic, rhetoric and elocution, he also gave funds for a competition in extemporaneous debate. The first Kingsley Prize Debate was held on July 15, 1867, under Upson's direction. From the senior class, the four men with the highest average in extemporaneous speaking during their last two years were chosen. The positions on the affirmative and negative were determined in advance by lot and the order of the speakers on each side was determined by lot just before the debate. Originally each contestant was called twice and was allowed two speaking periods, of fifteen and ten minutes each. The prizes of \$70 and \$30 were awarded by a committee of three, none of whom could be members of the faculty. In 1872 six debaters were appointed and the time periods allowed reduced. In 1878 the affair became known as the McKinney Prize Contest, named after Charles McKinney of Binghamton, who endowed the prizes. In 1935 the number of appointees was reduced to the original four.

In 1854, a fund of \$500 was given by Aaron Clark of New York, of which the interest was to be used annually as a prize to a student excelling in original oratory. It is indicative of the straitened finances of the College that the original gift was credited to the fund drive of 1859 and used for current expenses, not to be replaced until 1892. The terms of the prize were made more substantial over the years—in 1904 a contribution by Henry A. Clark, '38, of \$500 raised the capital sum to \$1,000—and friends of the College contributed

various sums of large or small size to meet additional needs. For many years prior to 1900 the award was \$30 annually. In that year it was reduced to \$25 and was continued in that amount until 1905 when it became possible to increase it to \$50. This prize sum remained the same until 1926 when Daniel Burke, '93, of New York, was instrumental in securing funds to raise the sum to \$150, with five other prizes of \$50 each. The following year, again through the efforts of the same donor, three awards were possible, one of \$200, one of \$125 and one of \$75. This pattern was followed in 1928 and 1929. In 1930 the gift from Mr. Burke amounted to \$100 and two awards were made, one of \$100 and one of \$50. In 1931, Burke gave \$50 and the awards were \$64 and \$35. The size of these prizes was not judged by members of the department to be large enough to bring forth active and earnest competition. The combination of the Head, Kirkland, and Pruyn medal funds with the Clark Prize awards was considered for a time at the beginning of the depression.

Pruyn medal funds with the Clark Prize awards was considered for a time at the beginning of the depression.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, to win the Clark Prize (or "K.P." as it became known early in its history), which was of course open only to seniors, was the highest distinction at the disposal of the College, and even today it enjoys a special place at each commencement. In the early years each composition was limited to 1,200 words and the six competitors, whose speeches were judged by a committee of the faculty, spoke on the first Wednesday evening in June.

In 1863, John V. S. L. Pruyn, Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, endowed an annual prize for the student writing the best oration on the "Political duties of educated young men." The initial \$500 endowment was in this case also used for current expenses and not restored until toward the end of the century.

In 1863 also, Franklin H. Head, '56, furnished a prize fund for the senior writing the best oration upon a theme related to Alexander Hamilton. This was followed in 1872 by a fund established by Mrs. A. P. Kirkland of Clinton for the senior writing the best oration upon a theme in Biblical science. This, too, suffered the fate of the Pruyn and previous en-

dowments in its early years.

During most of the nineteenth century, the Stone Church in the village was the setting not only for the commencement exercises but also for special college meetings such as the speaking contests. Even after the commencement ceremonies were moved to the College Chapel in 1898, the three prize competitions were held in the village for another decade or more. The McKinney Declamation contest moved up the Hill about 1908. The McKinney Prize Debate followed two or three years later and "K.P." came soon after the end of World War I.

The interests of donors in the speech program at the College were aroused for the most part during the time Upson occupied the chair. He lived for the last half of his long tenure at Hamilton in the Grant House across College Hill Road, a place he had purchased in 1860. The year after he left the College, he sold the property to John Williams Mears, professor of philosophy, who is reputed never to have paid for it. Upson stayed on the Hill until 1870 when he was offered the pastorate of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany at a salary estimated to be a princely \$5,000 a year. The offer was one which he could not refuse, for during the twenty years he had been on the Hamilton faculty, salaries had been so low that he had been unable to save a penny. Four years later he was elected a Regent of the University of the State of New York, and to the chancellorship in 1892. In 1880 he had become professor of sacred rhetoric at the Auburn Theological Seminary which, like Union College, had sought to engage his service shortly after he left the Hill.

Upson's place was taken in July, 1870, by Samuel Darwin Wilcox, only recently the valedictorian of the Class of 1866. Wilcox returned to the Hill after spending a teaching term at Robert College in Constantinople, where he was among the first of a long line of Hamilton instructors. He retained the chair for only two years, resigning in 1872. Thereafter he went to Florida to attempt a recuperation from tuberculosis while working on the *Tri-Weekly Union* in Jackson-ville. He did not recover and died in 1874 at the age of

twenty-eight.

Wilcox was succeeded by Henry Allyn Frink, who had been valedictorian of the Class of 1870, and an editor of the Hamilton Literary Monthly. A student of Upson's, he taught at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute before returning to the Hill. His teaching load was heavy, according to the catalogue description of his responsibilities: logic and rhetoric and the supervision of declamations, oratory, debating and composition. The department was successful under his administration and he himself was popular among the undergraduates. For one thing, he believed in raising the general level of all his students rather than concentrating his efforts on the talented few. Under his direction, high honors were won by Hamilton in the intercollegiate contests held in New York City in 1876, in which some ten or twelve colleges competed, in the fields of Latin, Greek, mathematics and oratory. In early January, 1876, at the Academy of Music in New York, Julien M. Elliott, '76, speaking on the "Heroic Element in Modern Life" won a unanimous decision from a board of judges made up of William Cullen Bryant, Whitelaw Reid and George William Curtis. The following year, Frank F. Laird, '77, speaking on "The Negro in American History," carried off the same honors. The celebrations mounted by the Hamilton community when the two victors returned to Clinton equalled in their intensity and enthusiasm those granted in the twentieth century to victorious college football teams. That the series of intercollegiate contests ended at this point had no apparent connection with the two Hamilton victories.

Frink was popular on other scores: in 1875 when an enthusiasm for rowing improbably mounted the Hill, it was he who raised the necessary funds for the only and unsuccessful season. And four year later Frink introduced to his sophomore classes a winter term's exposure to English literature, a change in intellectual pace for which his students praised him highly. In connection with this venture, Frink did the students an even greater service. Raising \$1,000 from three alumni, he established what was known as the Rhetorical Library. This collection was shelved in his study initially,

and allowed the boys to get their hands on recently published fiction, poetry, criticism and literary biography. Of the total he spent half on these fields, investing the rest for annual additions to the library. The College, then as earlier, had little money or even inclination to keep up its own central library collection.

Frink's career was not without its low moments: in 1875, charges of favoritism toward his fraternity brothers were raised against him by members of the senior class and the matter had to be reviewed by the Board of Trustees—the whole affair reflected the extent to which the fraternity sysem had taken root on the Hill. Frink was further accused of recommending the use of wine to the speakers at the College exhibitions, and particularly at the junior class supper following Junior Ex. Frink hotly denied the charges and the tempest blew out.

Frink remained at Hamilton for thirteen years and then resigned to take a similar post at Amherst College where his career was equally distinguished. He was succeeded in the Kingsley Chair by Arthur Stephen Hoyt, valedictorian of the Class of 1872, who after tutoring for three years at Robert College, taking a degree at the Auburn Theological Seminary and preaching in Oregon, Illinois, came back to the Hill in 1885. It was hoped that he would find more time than his predecessor had to drill his students himself and that his heavy schedule would allow him to offer an elective course in English literature for the seniors. He stayed until 1891 when he left to become professor of sacred rhetoric at the Auburn Seminary. During his stay at Hamilton, perhaps his most useful contribution was the organization of the library collections.

In 1888, Clinton Scollard, '81, a Clinton poet of more than local reputation who had studied at Harvard and at the English Cambridge after teaching elocution for a time at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, joined the faculty as assistant to Professor Boyd. When Hoyt left in 1891, Scollard was promoted to the Kingsley Chair which he occupied for two years. In 1893, upon the recommendation of Melancthon Woolsey Stryker, just beginning his long presidential admin-

istration, it was decided to separate the public speaking part of the curriculum from the courses in English literature, with Clinton Scollard taking over the latter task. At the same time, the Kingsley Chair was renamed—and refinanced—as the Upson Chair of Rhetoric and Oratory.

Scollard remained on the faculty until 1896 when he resigned, partly because of ill health. After that, although he continued to be a member of the college community, his relationship was official only in 1911-1912, when he again taught English literature, a duty shortly relinquished to Frank H. Ristine.

The first incumbent of the new Upson Chair was Brainard Gardner Smith, a classmate of Stryker's. He had won the K.P. in 1872, and, after a short time at the Auburn Theological Seminary, had worked on the New York Sun before becoming an associate professor of rhetoric at Cornell. His coming to the Hill was welcomed but almost immediately he ran into trouble, not being able to keep his students under control. He had particular difficulty in suppressing rowdyism during the Wednesday and Saturday rhetoricals. His standing with the students was not improved when he was forced to seek the active intervention of Stryker, a strict disciplinarian whose ideas on how to cope with unruly students were outlined in his advice to Smith: "Don't make the mistake of treating these students as gentlemen. They are boys. Take a baseball bat into chapel with you if you have to, but keep order. . . . "7

Despite Stryker's help and advice, conditions got so bad that in 1898 the Board of Trustees felt obliged to ask for Smith's resignation. This he submitted after some dispute about the amount of severance salary due him. After he had left the Hill, Smith worked for a time on the *Utica Evening Dispatch* and then became chief editor of the *Ithaca Journal*. In 1912 he bought and edited the Ridgewood, New Jersey, *Herald*.

Stryker now decided to fill the Upson Chair himself, aided by Carl H. Dudley, '92. He devoted himself especially to the chapel rhetoricals, the debating activities of the seniors and to parliamentary law. After he took over, the problem of

maintaining discipline was solved quickly. According to Martin M. Post, the President's biographer, "at the first sign of disorder, 'Bang!' went his fist against the stand beside his chair. It barked his knuckles and his hand was sore for a week, but order followed."8

In 1900, Stryker appointed Henry White assistant professor to conduct the speech assignments. White, a high-ranking member of the class of 1898, who had taught school for a while and then worked for the Intercollegiate Branch of the YMCA in Philadelphia, remained for eight years. In addition to his teaching load he supplied local churches and found time to prepare for ordination. In 1908 he announced his retirement to devote his full time to the ministry: his first pulpit was at the Stone Church in Clinton.

White's place was taken the same year by Calvin Leslie Lewis, '90, who after teaching and being in business for some years, returned to the Hill as Upson Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, a chair he held until the time of his death on June 13, 1935. During the twenty-seven years of his tenure, he maintained the reputation of the College's speech program and found time to lecture and write. He formed the plan for the Hamilton College Summer School in 1913 and was its director during its four years of existence.

A member of the Class of 1912 became Upson Professor after Lewis' death. Willard Bostwick Marsh came back to the Hill in 1913 as assistant professor of public speaking after a year spent at Harvard. He stayed for three years, went to Princeton and then into the army. In 1920 he returned to Hamilton and took Professor Lewis' place in 1935. Until his retirement in 1960, "Swampy" Marsh was to many generations of Hamilton men the public speaking department.

At the time that the curriculum was under scrutiny in the early nineteen forties, the Department of Public Speaking, so long an object of affectionate pride and reputation, was examined by a small group of alumni who sought to match the image with the reality. Their conclusions noted that the department was adequate rather than outstanding, and that vis-à-vis the other departments of the College it was considered somewhat lower in status.

The Campus

When Samuel Kirkland drew up his "Plan of Education" for white and Indian youth in 1792, he incorporated in it this passage:

. . . as Agriculture is the source of subsistence and wealth to our Country, the friend of health, innocence, knowledge and liberty; this is to be strongly recommended and encouraged by the Master [of the Academy]. For which purpose a small piece of land, not exceeding 10 or 12 acres, shall be appropriated to the sole use and benefit of the Academy, and shall be laid out, near to or adjoining the same. It is the wish of the Founders and Benefactors, that Master, or Assistant, with the Scholars, instead of the usual diversions of School Boys, should exercise themselves one or two hours every week-day in improving this glebe: that the Scholars, and more particularly the Indian youth, may if possible cultivate a habit of industry and learn agriculture.

And fully to answer the design, it should be carried to a high degree of improvement both in the ornamental as well as useful.

The cultivation of various kinds of plants, flowers, and trees would answer the double purpose of affording amusement, and assisting in the study of natural history.

Let the profits from the cultivation of this garden, be distributed by the Trustees, in whole or in part, as premiums to the most meritorious of the Students, or for the procuring a Library. ¹

This concept of Kirkland's did not mature during the life of the Academy, and when the College opened, twenty years later, its campus amounted to only four acres of yard fronting the original buildings, ungraded and but roughly cleared, with many of the stumps of the first-growth trees still in place. The Board of Trustees quickly recognized the need for improvement. At its fourth meeting on September 28, 1812, it received a report from a committee urging that the land be surveyed and that a master plan of construction be adopted to "unite elegance with convenience." The plan, if completed, has not survived. Five years later, on August 24, 1819, the Board established a committee to "lay out the grounds enclosed in the College Yard, and to cause Trees of ornament to be set out . . ." and gave it \$100 to work with.

By 1821 the land had been roughly graded. The original "very plain, feeble white paling, with gates used principally for the purpose of slamming, swinging and lifting" was replaced by a more substantial fence. To the north and west was a growth of ragged trees and underbrush, set in marshy land, and "seldom or never explored, there being no temptation to mischief." The roads to the east and north were primitive lanes. Outstanding were the rows of Lombardy poplars which by tradition had been planted by Samuel Kirkland, in 1795, at the suggestion of his daughter Eliza who married Edward Robinson, the Biblical scholar who briefly had been a tutor in the College in 1817. At that time the poplar was newly introduced into the country and much sought after. It is said without verification that when Kirkland visited Philadelphia in 1793, he found the inhabitants greatly interested in the trees which had recently been imported by Thomas Jefferson. Kirkland was told, according to one account, that if he wished his proposed academy to prosper, he must get rid of the native trees and plant in their stead the classic poplar. Then some generous friend made him a present of saplings. The untidy and brittle trees remained a traditional landmark on the campus until the late 1950's when they were removed and not replaced.

About 1830, Othniel Williams, treasurer of the College, planted a row of elms along the stone wall which by then

bounded the campus to the east. And in 1836 President Penney placed groups of ash and maples in the front of the college halls. At this early date, the view across the Oriskany Valley was not obstructed by large trees and the college at the top of the hill was in clear view of travelers approaching from Utica. Indeed not until the late 1880's had the trees grown so high as to obscure the dormitories and Chapel.

Toward the end of the eighteen thirties, an attempt was made by the students themselves to beautify the campus. They held an arbor day, during which each undergraduate planted a sapling to form a grove on the campus. The venture was not successful and the practice did not harden into tradition.

By the mid-forties the campus was still uncouth. There were only a few trees between the second turn in the road up the Hill and the village. From that point to the campus was a row of poplars, "dismal . . . ragged and moribund." The campus itself had little shade save from the elms planted by Treasurer Williams. Across from these, on the other side of the east road, was another line of poplars, guarding a pasture where President North kept his cows fenced in by a board fence.

In this pasture was the College cemetery, the walks leading to it bordered by a few trees. The cemetery had been established by the Board of Trustees on August 22, 1820, when they decided that a "suitable burying ground or Cemitary be set apart and designated on the College land . . . for the interment of the officers of College and their families, the students of the College, and others attached thereto." At the same meeting it was decided to transfer the remains of Samuel Kirkland, his Oneida supporter and friend, Chief Skenandoah, as well as those of Azel Backus and Seth Norton, who had been buried in the village, to the new plot. The Board appropriated \$300 to accomplish this end.

It was not, however, until 1856 that the bodies of Kirkland and Skenandoah were transferred from the garden of the Kirkland mansion on Harding Road. Shortly thereafter a memorial stone was erected to Skenandoah. And at the 1873 commencement Kirkland was honored similarly in a great ceremony attended by descendants of the missionary

and by a delegation of Oneida Indians. For the ceremony,

a platform was arranged under a spreading basswood and over it hung the portrait of Mr. Kirkland; in the center of the stage stood a large armchair once owned by him, and on the table, his family Bible. In the audience were four venerable gentlemen who had been students at the Hamilton Oneida Academy. Mingling in the crowd, too, with his family all clad in native costume was the Imperial Commissioner of Education of China, Chan Lai Sun, who had been graduated from Hamilton in 1850. At the conclusion of an oration by Horatio Seymour, Class of 1856 and former governor of the State of New York, the Indian leaders, Daniel Skenandoah, head sachem, and the Reverend William Skenandoah, another great-grandson, expressed their gratitude to their great-grandfather's benefactor. Their remarks were translated by a member of the Onondaga tribe. At the end of the services, as the Indians filed from the cemetery, they sang a hymn in their native tongue to a melancholy air.2

Where now spread the lawns of the Root Art Center was Professor Oren Root's kitchen garden, guarded by a plain white fence, said not to be in the best of repair. The ravines, later forming the Root Glen and Wild Garden were primeval, used as a dumping ground for domestic refuse and trimmings from trees.

The early College grounds had little to recommend them save their location: their lack of beauty was redeemed only by the splendid view across the valley.

During the 1840's and 1850's, there had been published successive editions of Andrew Jackson Downing's A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America. The influence of the Hudson River landscape gardener, an admirer of the English or natural school of landscaping, upon the further development of the Hamilton campus was profound. In September, 1853, ten men, members of the Board of Trustees, faculty or alumni body, contributed a fund of \$1,000 for the purpose of im-

proving some twenty acres of the land surrounding the College buildings. Their interest stemmed in large part from their feeling that the gesture was owed to the memory of Samuel Kirkland, whose deed of gift had so clearly called for the establishment of an ornamental garden.

From the donors a committee of three curators was chosen: J. C. Hastings, himself a well-known landscape gardener and nurseryman of Clinton; Oren Root, the professor of mathematics; and the Reverend Amos D. Gridley, '39, a local historian. Each of these, all strongly impressed with Downing's views, submitted a plan of development, from which Hastings' proposals were accepted. Also under the leadership of these three men, the Clinton Rural Art Association was founded in 1854. This society, reported to be one of the first in the country, encouraged the planting of ornamental trees and lawns in Clinton and its environs. The results of their endeavors remain evident more than a hundred years later.

The College land at the time consisted of about thirty-three acres, to which the Board shortly added seven acres to the northeast. The College buildings stood in a rectangular lot of four acres, enclosed by a low stone wall surmounted by a wooden fence. Straight walks, four or five feet wide, ran in front of the dormitories and the Chapel, and from each building to the front gates to the east. The campus was still only sparsely planted with trees.

The first step the curators took was to incorporate fifteen acres into one large park. Next came the removal of needless fences and various other encumbrances. Workmen with drags and shovels smoothed down the surface roughnesses; and the wet areas were drained. The old straight walks, set at right angles to each other, were sodded over.

The old president's house, standing with its well and barn in its own garden at the corner of the Hill and east roads, was moved up the road to the west: this was done on sleds in the heart of winter. The yard in front of the College was enlarged by removing the poplars along the east road, as well as the stone wall and fences. The curators, whose original \$1,000 was soon expended, and for whose work the

Board of Trustees from its straitened resources—only temporarily relieved by the sale of perpetual scholarships—now appropriated another \$5,000, and graded the rest of the campus to the level of the roads. At the same time, portions of the campus were enclosed by buckthorn hedges, partly to keep out straying cattle. Other areas were protected by wire fences which proved useless after a few years.

Still following Downing's theories, which revolted against the straight-path lines of the French and Italian schools of landscaping, the committee of curators proceeded to design roads and paths in gentle curves, which were covered with the red shale from the ravine to the north. (Many years later some of these were again straightened out by President Stryker.) Their work was well received by the undergraduates. In 1855, the seniors started the long-lived tradition of planting a class tree on the campus.

At this time also, Edward North, the President's nephew and professor of Latin and Greek, donated half an acre for the enlargement of the cemetery. Spurred on by this example, the faculty, in a series of planting bees, filled the cemetery with evergreens and lined its approaches with elms.

In the pasture to the east of the road, near the cemetery, the curators tried to plant a specimen of every desirable tree and shrub, deciduous and evergreen, which might be expected to prove hardy in central New York. These were arranged with a special view to their landscaping effect, although the planting also followed a botanical classification. The committee also made liberal purchases from the surrounding nurseries. These, with donations from friends of the College, enabled them to carry out their plans with some degree of satisfaction. The different varieties of oak, ash, elm, and maple were set mostly in family groups. Of the evergreens, in addition to a general distribution throughout the grounds, a special collection or Pinetum was designed by Curator Gridley. All in all, the curators planted one hundred and twenty-two varieties of deciduous trees, seventy-five varieties of evergreen, and seventy-seven varieties of shrubs, of which not many have survived to the present. To the rarer specimens, labels were affixed, showing the botanical

name, the popular name and habitat.

Once the basic planting had been achieved the curators hoped that classic vases, sun dials, fountains with *jets d'eau*, rustic seats and tasteful kiosks might also adorn the campus. Also they took care to set aside certain areas for baseball, croquet, and other games.

The curators remained in charge for four years, during which time they slowly changed the entire appearance of the campus. In Henry W. Sargent's supplement to the 1859 edition of Downing's *Treatise*, it was said of their work:

Fifteen or twenty acres have been enclosed within the College Park, and entirely laid out in the most skillful and artistic manner. Broad and extensive lawns are divided by graceful walks throughout the whole extent; trees and shrubs, of every description flourishing in this climate, have been planted in groups, masses, or as single specimens.

The attitude of the curators toward their task was expressed by Gridley in these words: "It is no vain thing to suppose that the minds and hearts of students will be benefited by daily walks through such grounds. . . ."

In 1858, however, there came about a great change. When the Reverend Samuel Ware Fisher succeeded Simeon North in the presidency, he quickly claimed the right of supervision and during his incumbency the campus became in effect his own property. On it he raised hav and vegetables for his own use and for sale. Under the curators' regime, the hay had been sold to faculty members and to neighboring farmers and the proceeds used to purchase new shrubs. (The practice of selling the hay from the outlying campus grounds lasted at least as late as 1875.) Fisher's assumption of these prerogatives did not sit well with the community or with the students. The curators handed in their resignations and the undergraduates petitioned the Board of Trustees in protest against the use of the campus as a pasture. On one occasion they went so far as to organize a mowers' brigade to cut the grass before the president could do so. Under these circum-

stances, the improvement of the campus faltered:

little was done towards improving the surface of the grounds, and the lines of the roads and walks were neglected and some were ploughed over and lost. . . . Many of the trees planted by the Curators were injured and some destroyed, and although a considerable number were planted under [the president's] direction, but few of them, owing to bad planting and other causes were alive at the time of his resignation in 1866.3

Not until that time, when the curators returned to their task, at the request of the Board of Trustees, did the work on the campus get under way again.

The College Buildings

The development of the Hamilton College dormitories, commons, classroom buildings, Chapel and the rest may, for the first hundred years, be divided into three periods. The first of these ended with the retirement of President Davis in 1832. The College had started with two buildings in 1812. The first was the uncompleted original three-story wooden Hamilton-Oneida Academy, for which the cornerstone had been laid in 1794. It was renamed Oneida Hall, a combination classroom and dormitory structure. The opening of the College had been delayed until it was readied for use. Its main room was the Chapel, occupying the southern half of the second floor, which also served as a classroom and meeting hall. On the first floor were one or two recitation rooms, but no blackboards or other teaching equipment save a battered globe. In these rooms were held the pre-breakfast sessions, lighted in winter by tallow candles. On the first floor also was an ill-equipped laboratory, holding only a few test tubes, blowpipes, retorts and an air-pump.

The students' living accommodations were "quite indifferent," "furnished in the most primitive manner." "Most of the rooms did not . . . exclude the winter's cold or the summer's heat." They were warmed by a wood fire in a large open fireplace. There was not a stove in the building. "We . . . brought our firewood in our arms from the woodshed. This, with some other simple practices, prevented the necessity of a gymnasium." One room was described as "a shallow recess formed by the jutting of the chimney. There was a large dark closet intended for a bedroom, but that was occupied by rats, who furiously disputed possession with all

comers." Oneida Hall survived until 1829, when, to the regret of many sentimental alumni, it was razed.

The second building still stands as the Alumni House. It was built in 1802 as a boardinghouse for the Academy students. Thirty-six local sponsors invested some \$2,300 in it and farmed out its management to a man and his wife for \$150 a year, a sum distributed in ninety-four parts among the investors. The house, facing east down the Hill, stood in an acre of garden with a barn and outhouses, at the northwest corner of the Hill road and what is now Campus Road. The Trustees had intended to continue its use as a lodginghouse for undergraduates. But when they found that no presidential mansion could be found near the College or in Clinton, they were forced to take it over for President Backus. It served in this role until 1839, remaining much the same in appearance as it is now. When Simeon North became president, the house was turned into a faculty dwelling. The curators of the College grounds moved it several hundred feet up the road in the winter of 1853.

When Samuel Ware Fisher took over the presidency in 1858, he moved back into the old mansion. But his successor. Samuel Gilman Brown, insisted upon a new house before he would accept the post. When he moved into what is now the Delta Phi fraternity house further down the Hill, the old building became a boardinghouse again until about 1870. At that time it reverted to faculty housing, occupied by "Buffalo Bill" Chester, professor of chemistry. In 1874 the head groundsman took over the old house for the next forty years. In 1914, the college bursar moved in, living there until 1940. It then became the Dean's residence for three years, until it was converted into three faculty apartments, one down and two up. In 1945 and 1946, an infirmary was installed on the first floor. Toward the end of 1946, it again became the home of the Dean. Since 1958, the old structure has played its present role: two bachelor apartments for faculty upstairs, and downstairs a meeting place for the alumni and a mid-morning haven for the faculty.

The third college building was the dining hall and kitchen for the undergraduates who, in 1812, had had no central

place to eat. The Board of Trustees had appropriated \$2,500 for the new Commons building which was completed in the summer of 1813. Built of stone quarried on a farm to the west of the campus and derisively nicknamed the "Banqueting Hall," it looked very much as it does now, as Buttrick Hall, save that the building in its first years was coated with red stucco. It did not prove to be a successful auxiliary enterprise and it closed in 1820, leaving the undergraduates to depend on private boardinghouses for their meals.

During the 1820's the old building ran down. For a time a cobbler occupied the back wing. Then a carpenter's shop was installed at the south end of the main hall. Not until 1834 did it take on new life. In that year, Horatio Gates Buttrick, whose portrait now hangs in the Trustees' Room, became superintendent of buildings and grounds, and moved into the Commons with his family. In 1837, Oren Root, a young graduate of the Class of 1833, married Nancy, the oldest of the seven Buttrick girls. In 1850, he returned to the Hill as professor of mathematics, astronomy, mineralogy and geology, bringing with him his outstanding collection of minerals which were housed in the Commons refectory. The building now became known as the Cabinet, with the south end of the hall turned by a partition into a recitation room, and the other two-thirds left free for exhibits. In the rear, another room was fitted for the study of botany.

For the next twenty years the Cabinet was a scientific oasis in a staunchly classical college. Shortage of funds, however, kept the building in a state of disrepair. As late as 1879, the shingled roof still leaked and holes were bored in the floor to let the rain water out. The building was quite unheated, making the exhibits available only during warm weather.

In 1883, funds given by James Knox of Illinois, a member of the Class of 1830, were used to remodel the building. The result was unfortunate for the simple lines were destroyed. The walls in front were raised to provide a second story, the whole capped by ornate wooden gables. The two front entrances were replaced by windows and a large central door opened on to the exhibit halls. Knox Hall, as it became known officially, presented this lamentable appear-

ance for forty years.

In 1925, the construction of a new science building at the north end of the west campus provided space into which the museum was transported. The Trustees decided to restore the exterior of the old commons building to its original lines. The wooden superstructure, the dormer windows, the gables, the central door were all cut away. By the end of November, 1926, the renovation was completed, with its interior refitted to house the offices of college administration. On the second floor of the wing, the small rooms were fashioned into a single long gracious hall, with an arched ceiling, where now the Trustees and the faculty meet. The Trustees named the building Buttrick Hall after the nineteenth-century superintendent, curator and inspector.

In September, 1812, before the College opened, the Board authorized the expenditure of \$9,000 for Hamilton Hall, situated about where South College now stands. This structure, facing down the Hill, was four stories high, and measured 90 by 48 feet. It was ready for occupancy in 1814 and held recitation rooms and comfortable and pleasant student quarters. It was decorated under the eastern eaves with the wooden bust of Alexander Hamilton which later was to go up in flames. When another dormitory was erected some years later, the lines of Hamilton Hall were simplified to ensure a uniformity along the front of the College.

Hamilton Hall continued in service for many years, gradually becoming more dilapidated. In 1873, through the generosity of John Newton Hungerford, a member of the Class of 1846, and one of the twenty-eight bankers among the then alumni, Hamilton Hall was renovated. Two large recitation rooms, each 18 feet high, were installed on the first floor. The outside was restucced. The building was renamed Hungerford Hall, a title it bore until 1906. To the students and alumni, however, it remained South College. In 1906 the building was razed, and the alumni combined to garner \$90,000 to erect the present South College on its site. At the time the new building was described as "stately," having "unexcelled accommodations for 64 students." It was further noted for its "bath-showers, hard wood, fireplaces, electricity,

broad and bright hallways and ample room, complete within and commanding in its exterior . . . an ideal college hall."

The next building to appear on the campus in this early period was another dormitory, now known as Kirkland. This was authorized in 1821 and occupied in 1825, when it was known as Kirkland Hall or North College. The confusion in nomenclature was not eased by the catalogue statement naming Oneida Hall as Middle and Hamilton Hall as South. In any case the new student building was the first and only major structure on the Hill to bear the name of the real founder of the College. Since that time efforts have been made sporadically and unsuccessfully to perpetuate Kirkland's name on a building. At one time it was even proposed that the name of the College itself be changed. This occurred in 1873, when the College was in dire need of a major financial transfusion, and Charlemagne Tower, the nineteenthcentury industrialist and capitalist who lived a few miles away in Waterville and whose father had been a student at the Hamilton-Oneida Academy, offered to donate \$4,000 in gold if the change to Kirkland College were made. The offer was rejected.2

Kirkland Hall remained in use, under the same name, as a dormitory with some classroom space and clubrooms, until 1887. It was then withdrawn from use, to reappear in 1891 as the Soper Gymnasium. The second floor was made into one large room to be used as an indoor track and a practice cage for baseball. The third floor, which under a truss roof absorbed the original fourth floor and distorted the simple roof line, was the gymnasium proper. A few years later, a swimming pool occupied the cellar and first floor. It was at the time one of the best college gyms in the country. Concerts, lectures, and dances were held in the upper hall for many years.

In 1823, the Trustees, disregarding the condition of the treasury, decided to put up a third dormitory: North College. The walls of the new building were completed before the Board changed its mind and sealed up the shell. They utilized the unused materials to erect a chapel instead. North College thereafter stood vacant until 1842, a prey to students

in need of kindling wood. In that year, through the fundraising ability of President Simeon North and the generosity of Trustee Simeon Newton Dexter, the building was completed as Dexter Hall. Unfortunately the construction was shoddy and by 1884 the building needed its walls strengthened lest they collapse. The funds for this renovation were provided by William H. Skinner of Vernon Center, whose name was now given to the building. The west wall was entirely rebuilt, and iron anchors strengthened the other three. The original battlements were removed and the interior redecorated in what was known as the Queen Anne style. The students' quarters consisted of a sitting room, bedroom, closet and coal room, the last arranged in each case so that it could be filled from the hall. There were two recitation rooms and two section rooms on the first floor. By 1914 the building was due for repair again: its accommodations were now listed in the catalogue as "simple and much cheaper." It was officially called North College, although it remained "Skinner" in the student directories until the end of World War I.

The Chapel

For the hundred and thirty-five years that the Chapel has crowned the Hill, the unique three-story building has been to Hamilton's generations more than a simple house of worship. Within its walls students have also taken entrance examinations and finals, attended classes, roomed, held society meetings, made laboratory experiments, studied closely-guarded library books, gone to the theater, and rioted in interclass affrays. No other building has been identified so closely with the growth and spirit of the College.

The history of the Chapel began on November 1, 1812, the day of Hamilton's first academic exercises, in an arched and whitewashed room on the second floor of the wooden Hamilton-Oneida Hall. Here, for a decade and a half, reluctant students were summoned to prayer at six in the morning and again in the evening by a bell "no better than a fur cap, with a lamb's tail for a clapper." Absences were noted by faculty-appointed monitors and explained away before the undergraduate body once each week. President Backus, wearing overcoat and mittens in winter-the authorities were slow to install even a small stove in the 44-foot-wide hall-stood at a desk before the Palladian window in the south wall. To his right and left were the faculty. Facing him, on tiered seats, sat the students, seniors in front. The railing which formed a back to their benches gave the undergraduates an early chance to irritate their mentors. The boys at the end braced their knees under the bar, raising it from its upright supports. Those in front pressed back and down, causing it to break with a sharp crack—a pastime which infuriated president and faculty until 1819 when the tempta1812/1962

tion was belatedly removed.

During the administration of President Henry Davis, a building program was started, a step considered by many to be overly ambitious for a young and financially insecure school. North College was authorized in 1823, but after a short time the Trustees enclosed the unfinished project and, instead, on August 23, 1825, directed the treasurer of the College to "proceed to build a Chapel . . . consistent with due economy . . . located south of Kirkland Hall." Philip Hooker, the notable architect of Albany, was commissioned to design not the entire project but rather the front of a "chappel, to have a Tower & Steeple standing intirely without the Building which was to be 75 by 50 feet front." The structure, with "three tier of windows," was to be erected for "other purposes, beside, Religious & Classical exercises."

John H. Lothrop of Utica, an original Trustee, is given credit for designing the main body with its presently unique third story—the First Congregational Church of Guilford, Connecticut, built *ca.* 1713 and torn down in 1828, was another American example.

The Chapel was two years in the building. Reuben Wilcox of Whitestown quarried and laid the Oriskany stone, a local limestone rich in iron which weathers to a gentle orange. When the structure was finished, late in 1827, it bore its present exterior form in all but detail. Parapets above the eaves disappeared in the mid-century and an apse was later added at the west. The steeple-Hooker had said "the tower I presume ought to Contain a clock"-for fifty-two years held three blank circular holes covered with "temporary" boards and pierced with rusting stovepipes. The large eastern windows flanking the tower were covered with blinds similar to the shutters in the steeple. Above the front door survive "some attenuated folds of wooden drapery" saved from the parapets of Hamilton Hall in 1817-they too had adorned Old South in company with the gilt eagle and the wooden bust of Alexander Hamilton.

The interior, for which the carpentry was undertaken by Deacon Isaac Williams of Clinton, has seen the greatest changes. At the main entrance staircases rose to right and left from the vestibule. Originally the assembly hall occupied only the eastern two-thirds of the galleried lower stories. At its western end, behind the preacher's "bear box" and an extra pulpit—"a sort of sky parlor" halfway up the wall on a level with the balcony—was a dummy Palladian window. The students sat on right-angle seats whose scarred backs testified to the boredom suffered by the boys. In the center of the often too cold hall stood an inadequate stove, sprouting lengths of rusty pipe, wired and stapled above.

West of the chapel proper were the first-floor Greek and second-floor physics recitation rooms, and the "back passage" from which a "steep and devious way" rose to the third floor. For twenty-five years after 1830, when the Hamilton-Oneida Academy was demolished, the chemistry laboratory was located beneath the Greek classroom, in the western cellar.

On the top story were the clubrooms of the Phoenix and Philopeuthian Literary Societies. For the next two decades the societies occupied quarters which covered the entire nothern side. The rooms were comfortable though plainly furnished, with blue and white chintz curtains and green baize cloths for the presidents' tables. Each had a stove served only by a single chimney to the west. In order that rowdy disputes might not occur indoors, the two groups approached their meetings separately by the front and back stairways.

In 1882, when the Emerson Literary Society was founded, it took over a tower room in the Chapel and then moved up to the third floor where for ten years it used the large examination room for its evening meetings.

The College library was housed in the southwest corner of the top floor. In its slow growth, the book collection, available to the students for only two hours each week, expanded until it occupied three-quarters of the entire story. In 1865 when the Noyes law collection came to the College, the library took over the remaining portion of the floor until its removal to Perry Smith Hall in 1872.

Although opened late in 1827, the Chapel was unused during the academic year 1828-1829. Services were once again held in a recitation room as only nine students were registered. The students were called to prayer at 6 a.m. by a

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bell which rang for two minutes—to dress in—and tolled for three—to get to chapel. The early hour, which evoked perpetual grumbling at the cold and discomfort, was not changed until the thirties when it was moved forward to 7 o'clock, and again to 8 o'clock ten years later.

For its first forty years, the Chapel underwent little change. The exterior mellowed, if the unpainted spire and stovepipes protruding through vacant clock apertures be ignored. It was not until the spring of 1877 that the present three-faced clock, donated by John Wanamaker, the Philadelphia philanthropist, made its appearance. The interior—an early alumnus described it as "designed by an old-fashioned deacon who evidently regarded any ornament or comfort as an invention of the devil"—grew steadily more dingy and scarred.

The "other purposes, beside, Religious & Classical exercises" for which the Chapel had been built were much in evidence. The College's public speaking tradition prospered under the aegis of the literary societies. Lectures were given and revival meetings held. Even closer to the students were the annual interclass Chapel rows—"bruised bodies, battered heads and torn clothing" were accepted results. And throughout the century irreverent students smoked and chewed, stole the pews, overturned the bear box, and introduced cows and mules and sheep into the hall.

The first major renovation took place in 1867. Then the straight-backed puritanical seats (which innocent freshmen occasionally "bought" from upperclassmen) were displaced by new benches of "better materials and more comfortable angle." The students themselves paid for the cushions. The feeble stove gave way to a furnace "which supplied all needed caloric" although the uncarpeted floor still admitted winds from below. A chandelier replaced the unsightly stovepipes. The ugly pulpit was ousted by a black walnut desk "crowning a reshaped and carpeted stage." New aisles were added at the sides of the hall and the galleries, with fresh carpets and cushions, were lowered a foot.

On November 2 of the same year, the College's third bell, weighing 800 pounds and made by the famous Meneely in

Troy, was hoisted to the steeple. The donor, Daniel Nolton of Holland Patent, had it inscribed *Ora et Labora*. The dispossessed 250-pounder, of "no power or music" with a "voice . . . more like a call to a steamboat than a summons to prayer," was used in a Clinton school for many years.

Thirty-two years later, the College was given another bell, this one weighing 1,500 pounds. Thomas D. Catlin, '57, who presented it, happily kept the earlier motto. The bell was hoisted slowly to its place by the student body on May 2, 1899, and was first rung at 13 minutes past 11 o'clock by Mrs. Herman Brandt, wife of the professor of German. Two years later it cracked and was replaced by the present bell, March 5, 1902, in the middle of a snowstorm.

The spire was the scene of a traditional annual rag—"The Ringing Off the Rust" by the outgoing Freshmen who tolled the bell all night—"an ear-splitting, rest-destroying, clangorous rite"—in defiance of faculty and upperclassmen.

The College bells were hand-rung until 1950 when the duty was taken over by the present impersonal IBM gadget. Student ringers lived in rooms in the tower itself or on the third floor. When prankish undergraduates sought to silence the bell or to steal its clapper, they had to lure the ringer from his post—on one memorable occasion through the medium of hypnotism.

The substantial lightning conductor on the spire was a challenge to others besides the humorist, Henry S. Shaw, who was separated from the College in his sophomore year for climbing it to the weathervane. His feat was copied by so many boys that the authorities installed the "Josh Billings spikes" at the cornice to fence off the upper reaches of the conductor.

Prior to 1857, a small organ had been located on the eastern balcony. The organist, faced by his choir, sat on a platform jutting from the gallery. The instrument was silenced when students stole the pipes to serenade the faculty and ladies of the village. It was replaced by a portable melodeon used only on Sundays and borrowed during the week by the students. Later it stayed permanently in the Chapel and was played every morning. In 1870, by student and faculty sub-

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scription—the students sponsored a lecture series to raise money—a larger organ was installed and the melodeon went to the Masonic Lodge in Clinton. In 1897 an apse was added to the western wall to house a more powerful organ.

The year 1897 also brought major internal changes. To the east, the vestibule, stairways and front windows were made over. The Greek and physics classrooms were torn out to free the entire nave for meetings. The enlargement ended a long-standing tradition. Commencement exercises for the Class of 1898 were held in the Chapel instead of at the church on the village green. From this time on, until 1946, degrees were granted in the Chapel.

Greater than the structural alterations was the change in style—this was the era of golden oak. A mosaic pavement bordered with strips of buff and blue was laid in all the aisles; oak pews, panels and wainscoting were installed; and a plan of memorial portrait windows was adopted. At the west end of the hall, located in the wall where there are now exit doors, were circular, stone-bordered, stained-glass windows. In one of them appeared the head and shoulders of Alexander Hamilton in Continental uniform; in the other was a picture of Samuel Kirkland in severe clerical garb. Later a score of smaller stained-glass memorial windows were introduced at the sides of the hall. The heavy Victorian atmosphere was not lightened by the massive limestone arch of some thirty-five carefully chiseled blocks that framed the apse.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, few changes, and those largely technological, occurred. In 1907 the primitive lighting gave place to electricity, and nine years later fire-fighting equipment was installed as part of a campuswide project.

It was during this period that student riots in the Chapel diminished in violence and frequency, probably because organized athletics gave the undergraduates other vents for their energy. Allied to this change was the construction in 1921 of a Little Theatre on the third floor. The new auditorium occupied the entire story except for the bell-ringers' suite along the north side.

The twenties and thirties brought no major improve-

ments. During the period of World War II the Chapel shared the strain with other parts of the College. The bell was silenced, to be rung only in case of alarm. But on V-E Day, the Chapel dramatically regained its voice—relays of students rang out the news round the clock.

The end of warfare brought the duty of honoring Hamilton's dead. A felicitous decision chose to restore the Chapel to the spirit and style intended by its architects. Nineteenth-century darkness was swept away by colonial simplicity.

To the west the ponderous arch of the chancel gave place to a simple squared opening which framed the new Palladian window behind the altar. A new organ moved to its original location on the east balcony. The old jutting edge was brought back to hold not the organist but the choir organ, while in the tower itself the pipes of the great organ took over the space once devoted to bell-ringers' lodgings. A new high pulpit faced box pews, each bearing a plaque to commemorate the men Hamilton was honoring. The portrait windows were stored away and their places taken by plain glass panes of the kind originally used. To the rear, interior staircases rose to the balcony, the railing of which was raised to a less hazardous level. One of the tower staircases rising from the paneled vestibule was sacrificed to make room for a vestry.

When students and faculty filed back into the off-white hall at Christmas-time in 1949, to attend a memorial service, it was clear that the grace of the Chapel's exterior had at last been matched by austere beauty inside.

The Choir

The Hamilton College Choir was preceded by the informal Glee Club, a student organization which entertained the undergraduates and gave concerts in neighboring villages in the years following the Civil War, and by the Mendelssohn Society which was founded in 1867 with Samuel J. Fisher, '67, as president of the organization and Edwin M. Nelson as musical director. This society continued until 1884. The college had for many years been a singing college, and each class and fraternity had its own glee club. The early years of the choir are not clearly recorded, but it was in existence in 1867 when the Literary Monthly waspishly commented that it should "sometime try a new tune, just for novelty's sake." The first time the choir received recognition in the annual Hamiltonian was in 1885 when six members were listed under the leadership of Paul Dakin, '84, with R. M. Smith, '84, as organist. The choir continued under student leadership until President Stryker took up its direction shortly after his arrival on the Hill. In these early days, the prime task of the choir was to sing at the Chapel services. The Glee Club and later the Combined Musical Clubs were the more popular and better known off the Hill. The latter, accompanied by banjo and mandolin contingents, became sufficiently renowned to venture on tour, traveling as far afield as Long Island and New York City.

In 1917 Cleveland Chase, professor of Latin, became director of the choir, and gave it better training than it had been accustomed to. He was followed by Paul Fancher, professor of English, in 1922; under his direction the group was built into an outstanding choral organization. By 1927 it

was giving well-attended and well-received concerts in Connecticut and New York City. It was during this period that the choir came under the special guardianship of Alexander Woollcott, '09. Under his sponsorship the choir visited New York City regularly and usually ended its spring tours with a nation-wide radio broadcast, with the Town Crier acting as master of ceremonies. Under Fancher's insistence upon excellence, the choir was able to recruit from the small total student body over ten per cent whose enthusiasm for the work made up for their often average voices. The years from 1929 to 1936 represented the peak of the choir's pre-World War II fame. The war ended its activity, and its last New York trip took place in March, 1941.

Fancher retired in 1942 and his place was taken by Professor Berrian Shute, to whom fell the task of rebuilding the organization after the war. By 1947 he had drawn together a singing body of ninety voices. Under Shute's direction, the choir sang in several oratorios with the Utica Oratorio Society. In 1947 the Requiem of Verdi was presented; in 1948 the Bach Passion was presented; in 1950 Bach's B Minor Mass; in 1952, Mendelssohn's Elijah; and in 1953 Handel's Israel in Egypt. During this time the practice of the Choir's joining with choral groups from nearby women's colleges was revived. The Choir's present director, John L. Baldwin, Jr., who had joined the faculty in 1946, took over this duty in 1950.

Stars, Sweat and Books

No major construction was accomplished on the Hill for twenty-five years after the Chapel was completed, saving the completion of North College in 1844. In 1853, however, a major addition to the campus and to the curriculum was planned. As far back as the early 1820's elementary astronomy combined with magnetism, electricity and optics formed a part of the curriculum for the junior class. On the initiative of Charles Avery, '40, Edward North, '41, Theodore William Dwight, '40, and Oren Root, '33, four men vitally interested in giving the natural sciences their due weight in the educational processes, plans were initiated to add an astronomical observatory to the College. On August 29, 1853, the four brought together a number of knowledgeable visitors to select a site. Edward North described the occasion:

I spent the P.M. with a dozen gentlemen invited from Utica and elsewhere to select a site for the new astronomical observatory. (Those present were Prof. Geo. K. Perkins, Hon. T. R. Walker and W. C. Johnson of Utica, Rev. B. W. Dwight of Brooklyn, Charles A. Spencer of Canastota, J. Bacon, Dr. Vermilye, Profs. Root, Avery, Dwight and North.) The knoll south of the President's [now beyond the Root Wild Garden] was thought to command the best horizon, but was left unchosen as being too difficult to approach. The next best horizon was west of the colleges near Mr. Strong's. This also was thought by most of the committee to be too remote from the other buildings. The lot in front of the college would furnish but an indifferent horizon because surrounded by build-

ings and trees. All things considered the lot north of Dexter College seemed preferable. It affords the best view of the heavens almost wholly unobscured. It is near to the other buildings and a room in the observatory can be used for the library. The ground is susceptible of being improved and gardenesquely beautiful. . . . ¹

It was estimated that the new venture would cost \$15,000, and this sum was raised by Professor Charles Avery, mostly in subscriptions of one hundred dollars or less. The plans for the observatory were in the hands of Azel J. Lathrop, the Utica architect. The following year a contract was drawn up with Charles A. Spencer, '43, and Dr. Asahel K. Eaton, '43, of Canastota for an equatorial telescope with an object glass. When installed the lens was, next to one at Harvard, the largest in the country. The contract called for the College to pay \$10,000 in cash, with the makers subscribing one-tenth of the price.

The Observatory, the thirteenth founded in the country, was dedicated at the 1856 Commencement by Professor Ormsby M. Mitchell, the astronomer then teaching at Cincinnati College. It initially consisted of a central building, two stories high, surmounted by a revolving tower, with wings to the east and west. It was completed and its instruments largely installed by 1858. The central building was twenty-seven feet square and the tower above it twenty feet in diameter. The great equatorial telescope in the tower had an object glass of 13.5 inches in diameter, and a focal length of nearly sixteen feet. It was provided with six positive, and six negative eyepieces, and with a filar micrometer. The declination circle, of twenty-four inches by means of four verniers, read to four seconds of arc, the hour circle, of fourteen inches by means of two verniers, read to two seconds of time. The instrument was mounted on a granite shaft, nine feet high, resting on a pier of solid masonry. This shaft is now all that remains of the building.

The wings were each eighteen feet square; the east room was the director's office. In the west room was mounted a portable transit instrument, given by Horatio D. Kellogg, of

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Bridgewater, and constructed by W. Wurdemann of Washington, D. C. This had a cast-iron folding stand, invented by the maker. Near the transit stood an astronomical clock, donated by William Curtis Noyes of New York and constructed by William Bond & Son of Boston. The room also held a sidereal chronometer.

To head the Observatory the Board of Trustees chose, in 1858, Christian Henry Frederic Peters, who also brought the first Ph.D. to the Hamilton faculty. Peters' career before he came to the United States had been exciting. In 1848 he fought with Garibaldi in the revolt against the King of Naples. When the uprising failed, he fled to Malta. On his return to Sicily the following year, the fall of Palermo sent him fleeing to France and thence to Constantinople. The Sultan was about to send him on a scientific expedition to Syria and Palestine when the Crimean War intervened. Peters then came to the United States where he worked for a time at the Dudley Observatory in Albany.

When Peters came to Clinton his position on the faculty was anomalous. The College, still in straitened circumstances. paid him no salary in the beginning and little later on. The Board minutes are filled with references to his detailed complaints about the non-payment of monies owed him. Much of his support came from Edwin C. Litchfield, a member of the Class of 1832, a successful lawyer and businessman who in 1866 endowed a chair of astronomy. Peters also received help from the University of the State of New York and for it he established the longitude of several cities, including Buffalo, Syracuse and Elmira. The story of the Hamilton College Observatory is really the story of Peters. He made a specialty of the discovery of asteroids; the student publications and local papers contain many references to his exploits. He does not seem to have been an inspired teacher of undergraduates. Although several of his students did indeed specialize in astronomy and attained high positions in the field, most of them remembered only the occasions on which young ladies from the female seminaries in the village came to the Observatory to look at the stars through the telescope—with the boys climbing over the roof and hanging

their hats on the great equatorial to blot out the stars until Peters, brandishing a pistol, chased them away.

Peters added a high luster to the name of the College, although his reputation was greater in European scientific circles than in the United States. He died in 1890, but mail addressed to him is still occasionally received at the College. With his death, the Observatory also died. It was mentioned in the catalogues as late as 1917, but it was never again effectively manned, and was torn down in 1918. After prolonged dry periods in the summer, the indelible outlines of the structure marked on the ground about the central shaft may be seen from the upper stories of the Sigma Phi chapter house.

Just prior to his death, Peters had become involved in a then celebrated law suit, which stemmed from his idea of preparing a star catalogue to gather in one place all the positions of stars established in astronomical literature.2 This work, essentially a matter of compilation rather than of original research, Peters entrusted to Charles A. Borst, a member of the Class of 1881, and one of his students. Borst, aided by his two sisters, completed the task in 1888. Young Borst sought to assume equal if not prime credit for the work, an assumption which infuriated Peters, who took to court the matter of Borst's returning of the manuscript. In this decision, he overrode the advice of several scientific colleagues and friends who tried to persuade him to submit the matter to a council of astronomers. The case was tried in the State Supreme Court in Utica, with Elihu Root acting for Peters and former Congressman Francis Kernan for Borst. The defense argued that both Borst and Peters were employees of the College, that their work belonged to the College and that only the institution could rightly bring suit. The judge ruled this argument invalid because Peters' salary had been so low that he was entitled to the results of his own work. He declared in favor of Peters and ordered the return of the manuscript. Borst appealed and the decision was later set aside by the New York Court of Appeals, on the grounds that Borst's rights had been ignored. A new trial was called for. But when Peters died, his heirs did not press the matter 1812/1962

and it was dropped.

Prior to 1853 there was no gymnasium at the College. In common with other colleges in the early part of the nineteenth century, Hamilton paid little or no heed to an athletic program. The students worked off their excess energy by walking up and down the Hill. They had to, since for long periods they boarded in the village. If that did not tire them out, they indulged in interclass rows, in scratch games of ball. or in mere horseplay. In 1853 a wooden barnlike gymnasium was erected where Root Hall now stands. Ill-lighted, cold and drear, it had little equipment, and that provided largely by levies on the freshmen. For many years no other building called from the students so many complaints, so many demands for action by the Board or by the faculty. The building had been erected upon the students' initiative and in effect was considered to belong to them. For a long time the gym lacked a floor which was only added after a subscription had been raised. Despite the protests, and the acquisition of gymnasiums by other colleges, no major step was taken to change the situation until the last decade of the century when Middle College was converted to this use.

In 1855 there was erected roughly on the site of Carnegie dormitory a wooden building for Professor Charles Avery's students in chemistry. Inadequately furnished, it represented a great advance over the vulcanian darkness of the earlier laboratory in the cellar of the Chapel.

Ten years passed before another major addition was made to the college plant. In the 1830's an old boardinghouse, operated by a Mrs. Bee, stood on the east side of Campus Road. Here impecunious students had been able to eat for ninety cents a week. In the same building, Charles Loring Elliott, the then itinerant painter, had kept his studio and had produced likenesses of Presidents Davis and North and Professor Marcus Catlin, the mathematician. It was here that Daniel Huntington, of the Class of 1836, started on the road that led to his later fame as America's leading portrait painter. On the site of this boardinghouse, at commencement time in 1866, was laid the cornerstone of a new college library.

The needs of the College for such a building had been

mounting for decades. Located first in a room on the third floor of the original Academy building, and then moved to the third floor of the Chapel, the collection had long before overcrowded its quarters. In the early years of the College, meager appropriations had come from the Board for the purchase of books: at the first meeting on November 24, 1812, \$100 had been set aside for "a small addition . . . to the College library, for the use of the students." Similarly thereafter minute sums were appropriated from time to time. By 1824, the collection was respectable enough for the Board to direct that a printed catalogue be prepared. This appeared in January, 1826, listing, however, only some 1,600 titles. The most useful collections available to the students were those privately owned by the two literary societies, which purchased in general the more recent popular works of the time. In November, 1860, these two collections, numbering 3,000 volumes in each, were taken over by the College and placed in the top floor of the Chapel, crowding it even more. All the available space in that building was finally occupied when the William Curtis Noyes Law Library was left to the College in December, 1864. (To make matters worse, Edward Robinson's biblical collection was purchased for the College the following year by a group of his admirers in New York City.)

The pressure for a new building was now inescapable. Dr. Nicholas W. Goertner, college pastor and indefatigable fundraiser who literally turned a deaf ear to rejections of his pleas for help, raised \$13,000 from Perry Hiram Smith, of Chicago, a member of the Class of 1846, and another \$12,000 from other alumni living in Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. Smith's extra thousand dollars guaranteed that the new building would bear his name, a decision not entirely pleasing to his fellow contributors.

Although the cornerstone to the building was laid in 1866, it was not completed until 1872. The new structure, measuring 75 by 50 feet, was made of brick, a departure from the College tradition of native stone construction. The first floor was divided into a vestibule and hall, two library offices and the main hall of the library. The building was arranged in

alcoves, rising in three tiers above the reading room. On the second floor at the front, facing on Campus Road, was a memorial room and art gallery. The capacity of the Library was estimated to be 60,000 volumes, although when it opened the collection numbered only a third of the figure. By 1878, after prolonged protests by the undergraduates, the hours of opening were increased to eight a week: from 2 to 4 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. But there was still no catalogue, no scientific arrangement of the books, despite the efforts of Chester Huntington, professor of physics, into whose hands the direction of the Library was placed.

Perry Hiram Smith Hall served its purpose until 1914, when a temporarily anonymous donor presented the funds for the current library. In 1924, the building became the college infirmary and in its latter years part of the second floor served as a dormitory for the overflow of girls visiting the Hill for house parties. The building's therapeutic function ended when the Thomas Brown Rudd Infirmary was opened in 1959. In 1961, a new lease on life was guaranteed for Perry Smith Hall as Clark H. Minor, '02, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, provided the funds for its conversion, under the direction of the architect Edward D. Stone, into a theater and auditorium.

In 1888, the last major building of this period was erected to house the College YMCA. This was Silliman Hall, again a brick structure in a "modified Romanesque style," of whose "majestic presence" it has been said: "Many epithets have been hurled at Silliman Hall. But no one has used the most devastating of all the dirty words in the vocabulary of taste: no one has called it dull."³

Silliman Hall was the first college building in New York State to be erected for the sole purpose of a college YMCA and apparently the fifth in the country. The Hamilton Chapter had been organized in April, 1875, thirty-one years after the movement had been started in London. It was a successor to the Hamilton Theological Society of the 1820's and to the Society for Christian Research which was organized to replace it in 1836.

The YMCA was very active on the Hill over a number of decades. In 1887, for example, of the 160 undergraduates, 110 were members of the organization. Four noonday prayer meetings were held for the membership each week in addition to the weekly Bible class meetings. It was at that time the only permanent organization open to the entire College. During the late seventies and eighties there was a tendency for students not to room in the dormitories. Since there was no central place for them to meet on the Hill, some sort of student union was needed. Indeed, in 1887, the students themselves started a drive to raise \$20,000 for a combined gymnasium and YMCA building, of which sum they managed to raise \$8,000 in pledges. At this point, Horace B. Silliman, financier, philanthropist and a non-alumnus Trustee, came to their rescue. Silliman, who a few years later declined to become president of the College, put up an estimated \$30,000 for a YMCA building and its furnishings.

The resulting building, dedicated on May 2, 1889, held a reading room where copies of the latest journals were available to the undergraduates. The first floor also contained a reception room and an assembly hall. Above, there were two prayer meeting rooms, a committee room, and a suite for the president of the association and his assistant. The Hall was for a decade or two the social center of the College. With the passage of time, however, its influence declined, and although during the early 1920's the organization, in an effort to bolster its position, sponsored secular lectures, discussion groups and movies, it could not regain its earlier status. By 1928 there were rumors that the building was to be razed. In the spring of 1929, the ground floor and part of the second story were taken over by the then-new music department. Silliman Hall served in this capacity until 1959 when the music department moved to the Root Art Center. Since that time, the building, a period piece dear to alumni eyes, despite its towers and balconies and other curlicues, has sheltered the modern technical teaching devices utilized by the Department of Romance Languages.

The Doldrums

After Simeon North's long tenure, it was felt that the College needed a stronger hand. The discipline of the students, both academic and social, was not good. It was stated later that students "in ragged or dirty gowns loitered in recitation or chapel," and that they looked forward to their senior year as the "lazy year," a point of view not unknown to later generations of undergraduates.

As his successor, the Board considered inviting to the post Laurens Perseus Hickok, vice-president of Union College, William G. T. Shedd, then professor of church history at Andover Seminary and later co-pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City with Gardiner Spring (who had earlier been in the running for the post), or Asa Dodge Smith, Pastor of the Brainerd Presbyterian Church in New York City and later President of Dartmouth. Finally they settled on Samuel Ware Fisher, another solid Presbyterian who had gone in 1846 to Cincinnati to succeed Lyman Beecher as the pastor of that city's Second Presbyterian Church. Fisher, born in 1814 and a graduate of Yale in 1835, had been a student at the Princeton and Union seminaries. When he came to Clinton, it was with the clearly defined aim of bringing the College much closer to the Presbyterian Church.

The new president was inaugurated on November 4, 1858, a day of high celebration, with fireworks and a torchlight parade in the evening: the students co-operated by simultaneously lighting candles in every college window.

Fisher was best known because he introduced into the College curriculum the systematic study of the Bible; the

Catechism also became a regular part of the students' life each Monday. No closer organic link to the church was forged during the period of his administration, however.

Financially the fortunes of the College improved somewhat under Fisher, largely because he brought to the administration the services of Dr. Nicholas W. Goertner, first as College pastor and then as money-raising agent. Fisher never became really popular with his colleagues on the faculty, largely because of his decision to take from the curators of the grounds their control over the development of the campus. He stopped their systematic efforts to beautify the grounds, and caused hay and potatoes to be raised thereon. These he considered to be his own perquisites—a fringe benefit appreciated neither by faculty nor by students.

Fisher retained the post for eight years, resigning in 1866. While there had been financial gains—the endowment of the College had quadrupled, and the number of students had risen from 125 to nearly 200—the problem of discipline was again one of major proportions. The students played ball all day and perpetrated the rowdy serenade known as Kalithumps all night to the detriment of their studies and the frustration of the faculty. Fisher retired to the pastorship of Westminster Church in Utica. He kept his seat on the Board of Trustees until 1871 and, although he had relinquished the presidency, he retained an indirect control over the policies of his successor.

The man the Board selected to succeed President Fisher in 1866 was the son of Francis Brown, president of Dartmouth College during the time of that institution's great constitutional battle, and who had been elected to the same post at Hamilton a generation before but had turned down the offer. After briefly considering Dr. William Augustus Stearns, the president of Amherst, and offering the position to Theodore W. Dwight, erstwhile head of the Maynard Law School and then of the Columbia Law School, the Trustees invited Samuel Gilman Brown, an 1831 graduate from Dartmouth and later a student at the Andover Theological Seminary. Before Brown came to the Hill he had occupied the chairs of oratory and belles lettres and of intellectual phi-

losophy and political economy at his alma mater. He was a prolific writer, and his edition of *The Works of Rufus Choate*, with a Memoir of His Life (1862) remains a standard work on the subject.

After some hesitance about accepting the task, even though he preferred the Presbyterian atmosphere and the climate of Clinton to that of Hanover, he took the post. However, he first made it clear that the President of Hamilton College must have a new house to live in. Indeed the lack of suitable accommodations prevented his coming to Clinton as quickly as might have been expected. During the interregnum, Edward North reluctantly acted as president. And as a result of the delay the senior class missed for some time its normal instruction in metaphysics. When, as part of the 1867 commencement proceedings, Brown was inaugurated on July 17, his polished address, which dealt in large part with the comparative merits of classical and scientific studies in the curriculum, pointed to the probability that he was a scholar rather than an administrator and fund-raiser-an analysis which events bore out.

To provide a new home for the Browns—he boarded for a while with the Root family before he could bring his own family to Clinton—the College started a \$10,000 fund drive to build a mansion on the small plateau formerly belonging to the Powell family between Junior and Senior Hills on the north side of the Hill road. The house, designed by a Boston architect, was a long time abuilding. A square wooden house, three stories high and surmounted by a mansard roof, it had for its kitchen and woodshed ell the old Powell house which had been built about 1840. It was not until 1869 that it was finally completed, at an estimated cost of some \$30,000. The Browns held their first informal reception in their new home just before commencement.

The principal problem of the Brown administration continued to be a financial one which the president was unable to solve. Even though Brown, speaking at the second reunion dinner for alumni in New York City in 1870, dwelt on the need for endowed lectureships in physiology and hygiene, fine arts, literature, for a larger library collection, for a chair

in natural philosophy, modern languages and natural history, his remarks did not ring with the authority essential to a raiser of funds.

Indeed, the preceding year a letter, signed "Hamilton," to the *Utica Morning Herald*, May 28, 1869, had advocated that Union College, by this time slipping from the high place it had occupied under Eliphalet Nott, should join forces with Hamilton in the city of Utica under the name of "Union." While this sacrilegious proposal met with the silence it deserved, the picture drawn of Hamilton College's condition bespeaks the problems Brown faced—tasks he was by no means suited to undertake successfully. Hamilton, said the writer, was

greatly embarrassed by a want of funds. Her faculty are underpaid, hardly a chair . . . being properly endowed. . . . With the exception of the Library Hall, the President's House, and possibly the Observatory, she has not a building which it would not be an advantage . . . to have torn down and replaced by better structures. Of her three dormitories, one is old and wretchedly out of repair, and one has a defective wall which threatens each winter to fall outward. . . .

The College continued to operate at an annual deficit; funds were difficult to raise and faculty salaries remained low and irregularly paid. Several remonstrances to the Board of Trustees on this score brought little relief and the individual professors were forced to rely on the neighboring banks for temporary assistance. Even though Brown had mentioned the paucity of the instructors' pay before he finally accepted, he was able to do little to alter the situation and on at least one occasion was felt by his faculty colleagues to have deliberately avoided forcing the issue on the Board of Trustees by escaping to Hanover in New Hampshire. Brown was not a particularly forceful individual and for much of his term in office was considered to be under the thumb of his predecessor who ruled the College from his pastoral study in Utica.

Part of the financial difficulty still lay in a continued reliance upon the help of the Presbyterian churches. Also Hamilton was faced by increasing rivalry from the newer colleges. This was particularly true of Cornell, which with its greater resources and more numerous faculty, was providing serious competition for matriculants in an area which Hamilton had previously considered its own recruiting preserve. The old problem of getting the students to pay their bills had not been solved, despite strong words on the subject from faculty and Board. It is easy to see why in 1876 the College, despite stringent economies, was operating at an estimated deficit each year of approximately \$5,000. Students could graduate merely by signing a note for the debts they had incurred during the past four years-many spent the sums provided for their education on their lesser needs. Even though the Trustees themselves contributed \$3,000 annually, it was clearly stated in 1878 that unless Dr. Goertner, the chief fund-raiser, could extract \$7,000 a year from the alumni and other sources, faculty salaries, already low and seldom paid on time, would have to be cut \$100 a year and some chairs consolidated or abolished.

Like all his predecessors, Brown had difficulties maintaining discipline among the students. In 1878 this condition became so acute that an effort was made, particularly by the Reverend W. E. Knox, '40, a member of the Board, to have him removed. (Brown was no doubt justified in thinking that there were too many clergymen on the Board of Trustees, a feeling which did not endear him to them.) The situation was so bad that senior members of the faculty were questioned as to Brown's administration in matters of discipline and scholarship. It was shown, in the several reports submitted, that discipline was no worse if no better than it had been in earlier administrations and that the quality of work on the Hill had improved.

Brown himself was a popular lecturer and teacher, and his extra course on the history of civilization was welcomed by the seniors who met with the president on Tuesdays and Fridays of each week, using Guizot's *Lectures* as a textbook. Indeed, when somewhat earlier (1871), Professor John W.

Mears, who is remembered for his bigoted and successful attacks on the flourishing Oneida Community to the westward of Clinton, had taken over part of the president's teaching load, the students felt that they were being shortchanged.

The effort to displace Brown came to nothing. The Trustees felt they had no grounds on which to remove him and must trust to his resigning of his own free will to solve the dilemma of a president about whom they were not keenly enthusiastic. A year later, in 1879, the knot was cut. Brown went to Switzerland as a delegate to a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance. His departure met with the approval of the Board, and once again Edward North took on the task of acting president. The following year, after his return, Brown resigned from the presidency. Newspaper comment on his decision, while praising his polish and excellent service in the pulpit, spoke of his lack of "push."

After his resignation, Brown lived in Utica, returning for a time to the Hill the following year to give the course in metaphysics to the senior class. Then, before his death on November 4, 1885, in Utica, from a heart illness, he taught for varying periods at Dartmouth and at Bowdoin.

Presbyterian Flirtation

As a successor to Brown, the Board turned to a man who had earlier propounded a plan for the solution of the College's financial troubles through a close organic relationship with the Presbyterian Church. In 1879, Dr. Henry Darling, at the time pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Albany, a post held earlier by two Hamilton worthies, Henry Mandeville and Samuel Ware Fisher, appeared with Dr. Herrick Johnson, '57, before the Board of Trustees to suggest that the Church, in need of a source of trained ministers, should officially support the College. The College would receive, by the scheme, a contributed endowment of \$500,000. Church control would be assured by the acceptance of official representatives of the Church on the Board of Trustees. The proposal was gone into thoroughly and approved by a committee headed by the jurist Theodore William Dwight, '40, who had joined the Board in 1875. The following year Darling himself was elected a Trustee. With the resignation of President Brown, it became almost inevitable that Darling should be his successor, although he was aware of the reputation the College had for giving its presidents a hard time. He was elected April 12, 1881, at a salary of \$4,000 (half of which he was reported to have turned back to the College).

Darling, who was inaugurated president in the Stone Church on September 15, 1881, was a graduate of Amherst, Class of 1842. After attending Union and Auburn theological seminaries, he served as pastor of the Clinton Street Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia before going to Albany. In May, 1881, he had been elected moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, a post which gave

weight to his ideas of getting support for the College from that source.

Great hopes were entertained that at last a man had been acquired who could stop the slow decline into which the College seemed to have slid since the Civil War. North had been looked upon as an excellent educator but a poor administrator. Fisher was felt to have been a poor instructor and to have failed, even though aided by Dr. Goertner, in raising money. And Brown was felt to have failed on both scores. Some indication of what was expected of Darling may be gained from a student editorial which said: "He will find the way fully open for the best use of his gifts as a teacher and preacher, a correspondent and executive officer, a repairer of waste places, a creator of confidence, enthusiasm, revenues and retinue."

And indeed the first year of the new administration seemed to augur well for the College. Darling immediately introduced a note of stricter discipline, stating categorically that rowing among the students was to stop. He preached eloquently at home and abroad, placing before Presbyterian churches generally the needs of the College. His efforts in this direction were initially so successful that by 1884 \$320,000 of the proposed half million had been pledged. Evidence of this new spirit from the clergy was highlighted in October, 1882, when it was arranged that the New York Synod, meeting in Utica, should visit the College. This they did on October 18, a date which marks the zenith of the courtship between Hill and Church.

Academically also the future looked bright. There was an infusion of new blood among the faculty. Francis M. Burdick, Class of 1869, and later mayor of Utica, revivified the teaching of political science. George P. Bristol, '76, a product of the relatively new Johns Hopkins University and of Heidelberg, became assistant professor of ancient and modern languages; Professor Herman Carl George Brandt, '72, shortly after became professor of modern languages. It was a time, too, when the College finally caught the trend of a curriculum containing elective courses. There was about the College an intellectual stir, heralded in the *Catalogue* of

1882 by the statement: "It has been decided, after mature consideration by the faculty, to adopt a course which shall provide for a certain amount of elective or optional studies. The details of this plan will be announced later."

The honeymoon did not last long. Two events occurred in 1884 which destroyed the hopes and apparent forward march. Former President North died on February 9, 1884. It was considered customary in the College for tribute to be paid the College great by the omission of classes between the day of death and the funeral. In this case, the North family wished that only the day of the funeral should be noted in this way. The faculty did not see fit to explain the family request to the student body. The undergraduates in turn believed that an ancient custom was being violated and that insufficient respect was being paid to the memory of a notable leader in the development of the College. The result was a general college bolt, with all the students staying away from recitations for a day. When the faculty retaliated by suspending two seniors, the entire senior class walked out. There followed an exchange of recriminations, offers and counteroffers between class and faculty, which lasted for a month before the students made apologies for their behavior and gave pledges to abide by the laws of the College in the future. Only then was normal class work resumed. This fracas, which was fully aired in the press, marks perhaps the high point of a build-up of contempt on the part of the Hamilton undergraduates against authority.

At the Board meeting in June, a greater shock occurred. Eight members of the faculty—all except Edward North who consistently remained aloof from such affairs, and Henry Allyn Frink, professor of rhetoric, who was considered to be the favorite of the president—presented a petition calling for the resignation of the president. The dissident group claimed that the administration, which had opened so hopefully, had been a signal failure. They cited the comparative failure of the fund-raising drive, in which pledges changed only reluctantly into cash, the state of discipline in the College, a lack of forthrightness on the part of the president in conveying to the students the decisions of the faculty, a break-

down in administrative procedures, and favoritism on the part of the president toward his own son, who was a student in the College.

The detailed denunciation had heavy repercussions among the friends of the College. A week later there was a large meeting in Utica, at which 184 alumni adopted resolutions asking the Trustees to clear up the situation before the College opened again in the autumn. In the meantime the Board itself had appointed a committee, headed by Theodore Dwight, to investigate the matter thoroughly. This was done in a quasi-judicial hearing, which lasted over eighteen days and produced several hundred pages of evidence which contain an intimate picture of the College, its customs and problems. The committee, in its final report to the full Board, called "the proceedings on both sides . . . quite extended and perhaps prolix." The report was not ready by the opening of the academic year, and indeed was not submitted to the Board until the early part of 1885. It was never published, despite the demands for such action. In general, the charges of the faculty were sustained: the committee felt that Darling was a poor administrator, that he had shown favoritism toward his son, that his relationship with the faculty was poor, that discipline was bad. On the other hand, the members of the faculty who had originated the matter were also criticized for the manner in which they had broached the subject.

In retrospect, it seems wise that the Board of Trustees adopted a "let sleeping dogs lie" policy. The College opened with almost the normal number of freshmen; the exacerbated feelings of the individuals involved healed in time. It seems extraordinary that Darling did not resign. The correspondence of the period, however, does not indicate that the affair seriously impaired the running of the College. In the course of a few years, three of the principals, Frink, Bristol and Burdick, left the Hill. A committee set by the Board to look into and change the relationship between the president and faculty did not bring in a report, and a modus vivendi was worked out unofficially. Darling himself remained until his death.

Prexy Was It

When President Darling died on April 20, 1891, having survived the effort to oust him six years before, Edward North became acting president, as reluctantly as in the past. To him fell the task of winnowing the suggestions as to Darling's successor. Three members of the faculty were named: Ambrose Parsons Kelsey, '56, Stone Professor of Natural History; Arthur Stephen Hoyt, '72, Kingsley Professor of Logic; and and Dean Abel Grosvenor Hopkins, '66, Benjamin-Bates Professor of Latin, whose candidacy was strongly supported by the young alumni and undergraduates, and in whose behalf form letters of recommendation and blank ballots were widely distributed.

However, considering the weak financial condition of the College, it was felt necessary to elect either a wealthy man, one with moneyed friends, or a vigorous fund-raiser. Moreover, there was a strong feeling in some quarters that it was time to have an alumnus run the College. Some powerful voices on the Board believed that a clergyman should not be chosen. This influence was opposed by members of the Walcott family of Whitestown who had donated in 1860 the funds supporting the Walcott Chair of the Evidences of Christianity, which was occupied by the president. Among other men seriously considered were William J. Milne of the Albany State Normal College; the Reverend Charles E. Knox, '56, President of the German Theological Seminary in Bloomfield, New Jersey; the Reverend Hermon D. Jenkins, '64, then of Sioux City, Iowa; and Horace B. Silliman.

At a meeting of the Board, September 3, Silliman, by a split vote, won the nomination over Knox, and was then

elected unanimously. Silliman, a member of the Board since 1885, donor of Silliman Hall and in other ways a generous supporter of the College, turned down the offer on grounds of age.

Almost a year later, on August 25, the Board turned to Melancthon Woolsey Stryker. After a test ballot, which gave him all the votes save a single one cast for Edward North, he was elected unanimously, although from the preliminary discussions of the matter with him, it was by no means certain that he would take the post. As pastor of the North Presbyterian Church of Chicago, he commanded a salary of \$7,000, against which the \$4,000 proposed by the College looked small, even when buttressed by the free use of the presidential mansion. Stryker took eighteen days to decide, even though the proposed salary was raised by \$1,000 and an additional \$500 allotted for moving expenses. It is said that he walked up and down before the Chicago mail box for a long time in indecision before finally dropping his acceptance into the letter slot.

The man to whom the College turned after an interregnum of eighteen months, and under whose guidance the College, by tradition and sentiment, enjoyed its golden age, had been born ten miles west of the campus at Vernon on January 7, 1851. His father was the pastor of the local Presbyterian Church. While the boy was still young, the family moved to Urbana, Illinois, where his mother died when Melancthon was eight years old. In the consequent and necessary break-up of the motherless family of five, the boy was sent east to the neighboring city of Rome to live with his uncle, John Stryker, a prominent lawyer and industrialist. He attended the Rome Academy where he came to know Oren Root, '56, at the time principal of the academy, and Elihu, valedictorian of the Class of 1864, who taught at the same school for a year before going to New York to enter upon his law career. Young Stryker came to Hamilton College in the Class of 1872, where he was only a fair student, although he won second honors in the Clark Prize Contest.

After taking a three-year course at the Auburn Seminary, where he was graduated in 1875, he served four parishes, in

Auburn and Ithaca, in Holyoke, Massachusetts, and finally in Chicago. By 1892 he had become one of the best pulpit speakers in the country and among the ten or so highest paid clergymen in the United States.

The college to which he was called was on dead center. It was small and still poor. Few students came from wealthy families. Most were small-town boys from New York State. The general attitude of the College was parochial. The faculty numbered fourteen; the student body 132. Faculty salaries were low: the highest was \$1,500 a year. Most of the professors lived in the village. Tuition amounted to \$75 a year. The productive endowment, accumulated painstakingly over sixty years, amounted to some \$357,000 and the income was less than \$30,000. Stryker himself felt that had the College been auctioned, it would have sold for only approximately \$200,000.

The living conditions on the Hill had remained primitive. There was no running water, no sewage disposal, no central heating or electricity, no campus lighting. The dormitories were run down, dark and poorly ventilated. Stryker said later that for the first five years of his incumbency he tried to keep visitors away from the campus to prevent them from seeing the College's condition.

Accompanied by his wife and four children, Stryker came to Clinton on November 10, 1892, after a flying visit to the Chapel on September 29. He was inaugurated in the Stone Church, on January 17 of the following year, the first alumnus to hold the position of president and in the end to serve for a longer period than any other. Anson Upson, now Chancellor of the Board of Regents, returned to preside over the occasion. In his speech Stryker used the terms of a marriage ceremony: "I can only plight troth for troth, as here with all my heart I do, to love, honor, and cherish." And when his twenty-five-year term had ended he reverted to the figure: "For twenty-five years I took that college to bed with me every night."

A presaging of the new wind came early after his election. When he learned that the College colors were pink, he, without consulting anyone, changed them quickly to the buff and

blue of the Continental Army.

Symptomatic of the new era was Stryker's action, very soon after his assumption of office, in divorcing the College from the Presbyterian Church with which Hamilton had maintained a halfway union since the days of President Darling. Late in 1893, at a Synod meeting in Rochester, Stryker repudiated once and for all the unsatisfactory arrangement which had held back the financial growth of the College for many years. In a speech that was welcomed by the College for its forthrightness, the new president, despite his Presbyterian training, said:

I am not here to-day to face two ways, to tiptoe a fence top, nor tread daintily on eggs end-up. I must speak right on, and trust that I may neither be brusque nor ambiguous. Some thirteen years since, the Synod, by responsible and representative leaders within its bounds, made overtures to Hamilton to gather the College into a more organic relation with the Presbyterian Church. The Synod made an offer of a half-million of dollars. The College, numb with long watching, consented to her ardent and prosperous suitor. Time went. About seven years later the College (rather than to assert breach of promise!) consented to be wooed with an inferior sum. Again time went on, and I take the responsibility of saying to-day, and with the fullest emphasis that on our part the offer is closed. It has been a half-hearted and artificial affair, not greatly creditable to either the dignity or the resolution of either party.

I know the sense of our Faculty on this subject, of our Trustees, and of the great bulk, four fifths I am certain, of our Alumni.

We do not desire to be managed ecclesiastically. If Hamilton has too persistently besought alms, if she has consented to be a pensioner upon penny collections, if she has seemed to you the ubiquitous and perennial solicitor, at least not here, not now, will I so represent her. . . . ¹

Another major problem that had plagued the College

from its beginning was the discipline of the students. Each president had his difficulties, part of which stemmed from college traditions, part from the personalities of the administration and faculty, part from the neglect shown toward the extracurricular aspects of the college course. In this area, Stryker stood for no nonsense. Although the physical conditions of college life changed for the better under his guidance and the temper of the times had turned away from an acceptance of violent forms of student protest, most of the credit must inevitably go to the man himself. Stryker was determined to maintain discipline, even with a baseball bat. The first and only attempt to test his attitude came shortly after he had arrived on the Hill. The members of the Class of 1895, then sophomores, objected to his opposition to hazing and chapel rushes. They showed their resentment by "cutting classes, removing chapel furniture, and introducing various pieces of livestock into lecture rooms." The protest culminated when some members of the class sent a six-by-six beam, eighteen feet long, through the window of the president's study late one night, ripping a leather-covered table which he prized. Stryker's personality, the success of his efforts for the College, his willingness to send offenders home unless they quieted down and an understanding on the part of the students that "Prexy" did not mind harmless pranking kept within bounds, quickly ended the discipline problem.

When Stryker came, nine college buildings stood on the Hill. Neither of the dormitories, North and Old South, was in good condition despite the renovations each had undergone. The Chapel still served in part as a classroom building. Middle, converted only for a year into a gymnasium, retained a mathematics room on its first floor. The others were the ornate Knox Hall; the old and inadequate wooden Chemistry Building; the Library holding some 36,000 volumes; and Silliman Hall, on which Stryker later commented, "The man who planned that building tried to tell all that he knew." To the north stood the Observatory, already past its usefulness since the death in 1890 of Dr. Peters.

In the next eighteen years, during a period when Stryker

was at the height of his powers and enthusiasms, the number of buildings was nearly doubled. Eight new structures were erected and other major changes were wrought on the campus.

In 1895 the first of three reservoirs was dug at the foot of Prospect Hill on land given to the College by Dr. James I. Scollard of Clinton. At last running water came to the dormitories and showers to the gymnasium.

In 1895 the Chapel was renovated. The most important effect of this change was perhaps psychological: under Stryker the Chapel increasingly became a focal point of college occasions, in keeping with his policy of bringing as many college activities to the Hill as possible.

In the same year, 1897, two major buildings appeared. The first of these was the Hall of Science, erected on the site of the old wooden gymnasium. This was donated by Elihu Root as a memorial to his father Oren, at a cost of \$32,000. Measuring 95 by 47 feet, three stories high and fronted by a broad porch with tall Ionic pillars, it was designed by Carrère and Hastings, the New York architects, and housed the departments of biology, mathematics, experimental psychology and physics.

The second was the Hall of Languages, a gift of Henry Harper Benedict, '69, of New York City, standing west of Silliman Hall and facing the inner quadrangle. Designed in the Romanesque style by the Utica architect Frederick H. Gouge, '70, it measured 80 by 40 feet, stood two stories high, and contained six recitation rooms. The cost was estimated to be \$24,600.

In this same galvanic year, the campus was doubled in size by the gift from Hamilton B. Tompkins, '65, of the fifty-acre Williams Farm to the west of the old boundaries. Later much of this tract was to be used for a golf course. The athletic ground was laid out, with a baseball diamond, football field, track and grandstand—the updating of these improvements made possible by John R. Myers, '87, at whose request the entire field was named after the von Steuben who had laid the Academy's cornerstone. To match the northern grandstand, erected in 1888 by Professor Albert H. Chester,

Spencer Kellogg, '88, now added the western grandstand. The year before, in 1896, John N. Beach, '62, had contributed tennis courts to this complex.

After a brief lull in building, the Hall of Philosophy was erected in 1900 by Chauncey S. Truax, '75, at the northern end of the inner quadrangle, facing south. Put up at a cost of \$27,000, the building, measuring 90 by 45 feet, was also designed by Gouge.

In the same year, work was started on a Hall of Commons, to be finished in 1903, the gift of three brothers, Arthur W., Alexander C., and James P. Soper. The structure was in the Gothic style, with a dining hall 90 by 40 and 30 feet high, with pointed windows and buttresses.

In 1903 there also appeared a new Chemistry Building, to the west. Described as "quaint and solid," it was built, under Stryker's direction, of field stones and small boulders. These can still be seen under the arches which were added in 1930 when the structure was remodeled and enlarged.

The following year, Carnegie Hall—an unsuccessful effort was made to name this new dormitory "West College"—was opened. Of it Stryker said, "It is worthy to represent Scotch solidity & practicality," thereby obliquely honoring its donor, Andrew Carnegie, whose interest in the College had been aroused by Elihu Root. The president had a weakness for fireplaces and personally supervised the laying of nearly every one in the new building. He would go directly to the site every morning after assembly to oversee the work.

Far from satisfied by this series of building accomplishments, he wrote in the 1903 Catalogue, "Another Dormitory replacing South College is hoped for.... Hamilton still needs an enlarged Library, a fit Observatory, & a convenient Inn. They will come in due time...."

In 1907 the New South was completed, after a drive among the alumni to raise the necessary \$90,000. This then largest of the College buildings, measuring 160 by 50 feet, was described as a "stately & eminently fit" home for sixty-four students. Of it, Stryker, who had himself lived in Old South, wrote, "Bath-showers, hard-wood, fireplaces, electricity, broad hallways, & ample room, complete within and commanding

in its exterior, it is an ideal college hall."

It could never be said of Stryker that he quieted down, but seven years were to elapse before the next major addition—a new library which appeared in 1914. Only after the building had been in use for several years was it disclosed that Ellen Curtiss James, widow of the industrialist Willis James, had been the benefactor.

Although as time went on it was felt in some quarters that Stryker was laying too much emphasis on the physical growth of the College at the expense of the faculty and their salaries, his energies were not confined to the building program. When he came in 1892, he did not hesitate to engage the other needs of the College. He declared first of all a policy of thrift: "By rigid restraints we live within our income, we make ends meet, and when we cannot pay we will not go." At the time the highest faculty salary was \$1,500 for a full professor. This Stryker described as "shameful underpay," adding that the sum would "postpone death but would not furnish full mental and physical pabulum needed by a busy-brained man." He considered that \$2,500 should be the "minimum consideration," each chair to be sustained by a \$50,000 endowment. Late in his administration, the salary peak rose to that figure. He deplored the arrangement whereby one man taught general history, constitutional law, political economy and American civil policy. He believed that they should be three departments. In a few years they were.

Stryker thought the College should have an enrollment of three hundred undergraduates, with a faculty of twenty-five. But the student body never reached that number in his time. Only in three years did the enrollment rise above 200—the peak being 220. A firm believer in the classical tradition, he objected to liberalizing entrance requirements that called for Latin, Greek and mathematics for the bachelor of arts degree, and this discouraged many prospective matriculants. Stryker's negative attitude toward organized inter-collegiate athletics, at a time when football was becoming a hallmark of growth, was considered to be another indication of his failure to march with the times.

President Stryker's energies were far from exhausted by his "edifice complex." He was administrator, pastor of the college church, professor of theistic and Christian evidences, and of ethics, director of the college choir, corresponding and field secretary of the College, editor and business manager for fifteen years of *The Hamilton Record*, and in effect the admissions committee. His attitude toward committees was once expressed precisely when a professor asked him whether a certain matter was to be referred to a faculty group. His reply: "Oh, no, far too important for committee."

He attended to college correspondence without the help of a secretary. He answered letters briefly and in his own hand. He kept no letter file—there is a major gap in the presidential archives for this period. Once answered, a letter was dropped in the waste paper basket. He preferred handwriting to typewriting. He had no office on the campus. Although the presidential stationery bore at the head of each sheet the words "The President's Rooms," there was in reality only one room, which was also his study and his library, located in the southwest corner of the first floor of his home. It lacked a telephone.

As college pastor, he took charge of a brief religious service each weekday morning at 8:30 and of an hour's service every Sunday. For many years this was held in the morning but later was changed to 4 o'clock in the afternoon. His sermons were forceful, although in his later years they were criticized as "loose-knit and desultory," increasingly florid, dramatic and ornate.

He taught freshman Bible and senior ethics. In 1895 he prepared a unique text based on James the Just, a five-chapter book in the New Testament, which included eight textual forms set forth in parallel fashion: Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, German and three English translations—the versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale and his own literal rendering.

Stryker was also a minor poet, turning out during his life several hundred poems, largely on patriotic and religious themes, which he would occasionally collect and publish in limited editions for his friends. He also engaged in the writing of hymns and during his later years he published several hymnals, the last appearing in 1921. To Stryker singing of "Christian praise" was the essence of worship.

His educational policy was centered on the teaching of a traditional core of liberal arts with emphasis on mathematics and the ancient languages. These were to him the sources of knowledge and the means of intellectual discipline. For the rest he accepted the inevitable, a gradual expansion of elective work in the physical and social sciences.

Under Stryker also there emerged in mid-1909 a student honor system, initiated principally by the Classes of 1909 and 1910, that, after a faltering start, has continued to the present. When it was first proposed, its adoption was limited to the individual classes accepting it by ballot: the sophomores and freshmen of the time voted it down overwhelmingly. Indeed it was not until the spring of 1912 that the students as a whole, by a vote of 125 to 17, embraced the system to cover examinations and certain written work. By the midyear examination in the spring of 1913 the Honor Code was in effect. Since then it has remained in operation, a matter of pride to undergraduate and alumnus alike, even though its existence was not recognized in the College catalogue until 1935.

In retrospect there were chips in the enamel of Stryker's perfection, but for a long time they could not be discerned in the speed of the College's forward motion. Stryker was visibly adding to the College's stature and he was obtaining funds in larger quantities than would have been thought possible before his time. The favorable publicity, both in the newspapers and from the president's frequent and widespread speaking engagements, endeared him to alumni. It was a heady period for the College. The fact that Stryker was not indeed a great educational leader and that his insistence upon the merits of a traditional classical course of study combined to hold back the College vis-a-vis its competitors, was not immediately apparent or easily acknowledged.

After 1910 there was a slight but significant shift in the winds of approval. Within the Board of Trustees, Stryker came upon unwonted opposition. In 1911 it was necessary

to appoint a new librarian. The Board thought that Joseph Darling Ibbotson, '90, then head of the English department and a bookman rather than a technician, should be given the post. The move was strongly opposed by the president who supported another candidate. The Board, under the guidance of Samuel Hopkins Adams, '91, overrode him in the matter and Ibbotson was appointed—to the eventual lasting benefit of the College.

Faculty members either liked Stryker greatly or detested him. In his early years as president the schism did not matter a great deal, for "Prexy was it." But in 1911 the entire faculty body rose up against a particularly autocratic ruling and went over the president's head to the Board. Stryker had changed the date of the opening of the College on his own initiative. When the Trustees discovered that the authority in this case had indeed been delegated to the faculty, Stryker was again overruled.

In his later years, he continued to ignore his status as primus inter pares on the faculty, although there was a group, headed by Professors Brandt and Squires, and sometimes joined by S. J. Saunders, that did not always acquiesce in his rulings. On one occasion in 1915, Daniel Chase, of the physical training department, was leaving at the end of the year to take another post. Stryker pointed out at a faculty meeting that since Chase was leaving anyway he presumably would not vote on certain proposed changes in courses. Chase, who sided with the liberal group, left the room in indignation, only to be invited back by the unanimous decision of his colleagues who chose on this occasion to oppose the chair.

In 1911 it also became evident that the alumni were not entirely satisfied with the state of the College. The Alumni Council, acting upon a suggestion from the Board of Trustees, adopted rules which enabled persons connected with the College to register complaints about the College or to make suggestions concerning its administration to the Council. Formerly, these were presented to the Board itself. This move had been opposed initially by Stryker, but was supported by Board Chairman Root on grounds that it gave the

younger alumni an opportunity to express a clearer voice in college affairs.

A caustic letter from a younger alumnus in November, 1913, illustrates how strongly some had come to feel about Stryker. He said:

... if Stryker does not get busy and get some students in that place there will be nothing left of it. One does not appreciate its insignificance until after leaving and getting out of N. Y. State. Then you find that it is unknown to most people and a statement that you graduated from there must be amplified by an explanation as to what the place is and where. The fact that a certain few departments are good does not make a college and Hamilton never will be worth while in competition until it wakes up and does some advertising to get out of the prep. school class. The best way to do this is to retire Stryker and the sooner the better for Hamilton. Get a young man with some modern ideas and less biblical lore who can do something besides pass out the hot air and beg for new buildings. . . .²

Again, on April 26, 1913, there was another untoward indication of dissension within the Board itself. At the time, the new Library was under construction. The building was to be of native stone, with a trim of an artificial stone known as litholitic. The Chairman of the Board, forseeing that such a material would not stand up against the rigors of the Clinton climate—a prediction that proved to be true—moved that the contract for its provision be canceled, even though Stryker declared that he had already made the arrangements. Stryker took the floor and, after explaining his position in the matter, resigned from the committee on buildings and grounds which had the jurisdiction in such affairs. Elihu Root quietly withdrew his resolution.

On another occasion, according to his biographer, M. M. Post, the Board voted to change the date of commencement. Stryker, with only a few other members, was in opposition to the move. When the notice of commencement that year

was posted, the date was given as Stryker—not the Board—decreed. Only on the firm representations of Elihu Root was the president induced to comply.

The tide of disagreement did not ebb. Two years later, in 1915, the Alumni Council made a formidable protest to the Board of Trustees. In a letter dated November 2 of that year, speaking of "the strained relations existing between the constantly increasing number of dissatisfied alumni and their Alma Mater," the Council, through its chairman, wrote:

When graduates, professing loyalty, yet are so carried away by anger that they will neither permit their own sons, nor advise the sons of others, to enter Hamilton it is time . . . to face the fact that such a course is taken not by one or two but by many. In such a case is it not time for us to realize that, poor as the college is, we stand in need not so much of money as of harmony.³

The gradual involvement of the United States in World War I and the enthusiasms engendered in the country masked the difficulties Stryker was facing. The president himself was far from neutral. In earlier years he had been an outspoken opponent of Theodore Roosevelt, particularly during the political campaign of 1912. He now became a fervid supporter of Roosevelt's pro-ally policies. Indeed, in the early years of the war, he had spoken so favorably of young men volunteering for service in the British or Canadian armies that it was feared the college would run out of students. To curb such precipitous action a student military training program was proposed and accepted.

After the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, the president, on his own initiative, ordered that the College flag not be raised on the flagpole until the United States had entered the war—and he was obeyed.

In 1916 an episode occurred at the commencement alumni dinner that received wide and unfortunate publicity. Stryker, the first speaker, launched a bitter and partisan attack upon President Wilson who was at the time still striving to retain neutrality for the country. The speech was so violent that it

drew hisses from part of the audience. Despite a diplomatic rejoinder from Elihu Root, the damage was done and Samuel Hopkins Adams, a Democrat and long an opponent of Stryker's, handed in his resignation from the Board of Trustees.

Regardless of the tensions of his later years in office, it cannot be gainsaid that Stryker did well by his alma mater. When the last class of his presidency learned of his intended resignation and insisted that he and no one else officiate over their graduation exercises, the gesture expressed the feeling of affection generally held about him within the Hamilton family.

The memories of disagreements sloughed away after his retirement and, as the years passed, Stryker grew in legendary stature. Increasingly, in moments of nostalgia, he came to represent the good old days.

After his retirement, he moved from the Hill to his child-hood home in Rome where, sustained by a substantial bequest from a member of his family, he led an active life, engaging in many civic affairs. The College honored him with a L.H.D. in 1919 and he remained a member of the Board of Trustees until 1928. The following year, on December 6, he died at the age of 78 and was buried in the College cemetery.

No account of the College during the administrations of President Stryker and of his successor would be complete without reference to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees from 1909 to 1937. Elihu Root's keen interest in and loyalty to the College from which he was graduated as valedictorian in 1864, the benefits he brought to the Hill, both from his own resources and from men of large affairs whose interest he enlisted in behalf of the College, combined with the length of time during which he occupied the chairmanship, worked to make the man a legend during his lifetime, an image which has diminished but little since his death in 1937.

Elihu Root came by his affection for his college in the most natural way. He grew up in a household which had known the Hill intimately since the early 1830's. The familiars of his parents' home were members of the faculty

and the undergraduate body. His father Oren Root had entered the Class of 1833 in its senior year, having qualified for admission to college at the age of twenty-seven almost entirely through his own determination toward self-education. After his graduation, the young mathematician had married Nancy, daughter of Horatio Gates Buttrick, for many years superintendent of buildings and grounds at the College, who lived in what had been the College Commons. Oren was a member of the faculty for three years after his graduation and rejoined its ranks in 1849, to remain as professor of mathematics until 1881.

Elihu was born on February 15, 1845, in a second floor bedroom in his grandfather's house, now Buttrick Hall, in the center of the campus. He had been preceded by two brothers, Oren, Jr., who was graduated in the Class of 1856 and returned in 1880 to assist and then to succeed his father as professor of mathematics, and by Edward Walstein Root, '62, who died in 1870.

Five years after Elihu's birth, his father purchased the "Homestead," which has remained in the family since that time and was known for over half a century as one of the two Mathematical Houses (the house directly to the east and just down the Hill bore the same name), because for over fifty years the two were occupied by the professors of that discipline. From the Homestead young Elihu followed his brothers across the road to Hamilton College and was graduated at the head of his class in 1864.

Elihu's later career in law, which brought him to the leadership of the American bar, was followed by outstanding public service as Cabinet officer and Senator. He became a member of the College's Board of Trustees in 1883 and Chairman in 1909. The pressures of his role on the national and international scene never prevented him from giving keen attention to the affairs of the College. Over the years, and particularly in his later years as an elder statesman, his benefactions, coupled with his role in enlisting the material aid of such men as Andrew Carnegie, made him "Mr. Hamilton" to the college community and to the alumni. College and campus bear indelible marks of his affection. Inevitably

stories have clustered about his name concerning his dictatorial attitudes in matters of administrative detail at the College. In fact there seem to have been fewer incidents of this kind than one might have expected. Much of the legend stemmed undoubtedly from a parochial awe for one of the country's great who also happened to be living directly across the road from the campus.

Academic Acceptance

Melancthon Woolsey Stryker's enthusiasm had not flagged when he retired, but it was evident for several years that he had passed the peak of his contribution to the welfare of the College. It was time for a new man. To replace one who to many must have seemed irreplaceable, the Board of Trustees turned to Frederick Carlos Ferry, a mathematician who had been for fourteen years dean of Williams College. He had been graduated from that college in 1891, receiving his degree with the highest academic standing earned in Williams to that time. Before his deanship, he taught Latin, Greek and mathematics. After he had accepted the call to Hamilton, he expressed the hope that he might continue to give instruction in the field of mathematics.

The task he took up on the Hill was the more difficult for following Stryker, but he quickly cemented the backing of the Trustees and faculty. Among the students he was a distant figure, largely because he was too busy at home and abroad to spend much time with them. However, his experience as a dean protected him from the more obvious maneuvers of the undergraduates to whom he was generally known as "Savoir" Ferry.

When President Ferry was inaugurated, the College was disrupted by the exigencies of World War I. Its contribution to the war effort may be estimated from the fact that 632 Hamilton men were in the army or navy—of whom 209 were commissioned. At the end of Ferry's first year of administration the graduating class numbered only 25 and both valedictorian and salutatorian were in the service and received their degrees at commencement by proxy. The curriculum

now included an elective course in the military arts, a popular course engaged in by more than three-quarters of the students. This Students' Army Training Corps unit, establishing in September, 1918, drew 178 of the 243 undergraduates enrolled, and left only the younger freshmen to follow the usual college curriculum. The intrusion of the military training introduced drastic changes in the course structure. This, coupled with the backlash of a national epidemic of influenza, had a dampening effect on student morale—all situations Ferry had to cope with early in his term.

The task the new president inherited consisted of leading the College from a wartime economy, rejuvenating a curriculum weighted for too long a period in favor of the classics, and seeing that faculty salaries were brought in line with those of comparable institutions.

Among the first steps taken was a practical solution of the salary problem. In 1918 Ferry proposed that professorial pay be raised within five years to a top figure of \$3,000—even if it threw the College's books out of balance. As far back as 1914 substantial increases had been accepted in principle but the coming of the war had delayed their implementation. In 1919 a new scale was adopted which placed the College more or less in equal competition with other colleges: starting at \$3,000, full professors were to receive \$3,500 after five years' service and \$4,000 after a decade. The increase represented a sixty per cent gain for this rank. By January, 1920, a majority of the full professors were receiving salaries of \$4,000, an accomplishment made possible by the assistance of the General Education Fund.

With the ending of the wartime emergencies, it became apparent that changes in the entrance requirements were vital if the College was to attract competent matriculants. As early as 1912 candidates for the freshman class had been received with their Latin requirements reduced to three years of work. In 1916 this requirement had been lowered to two years' work. Under the Students' Army Training Corps rules the admissions policy had been much further eased, with an inevitable effect upon the caliber of the entering students. It fell to Ferry to raise the standards.

In the preliminary survey made prior to action by the faculty and Board on this problem, it was found that of 107 colleges looked at, 51 gave a degree with no Latin or Greek requirements. Out of 35 men's colleges requiring Latin or Greek for the degree, more than half demanded only a single college course in either language. Only seven of the total called for a Greek requirement. In the course of the same survey it was also discovered that only eight colleges granted the Ph.B.

It was decided as a result of the investigation that Hamilton must fall in line with her peers: that only one year of college Greek or Latin—preceded by at least three preparatory years of Latin or two preparatory years of Greek—be required, that the Ph.B. degree be dropped, and that masters degrees not be granted unless earned by graduate work either on the Hill or elsewhere.

By the end of 1919 the College was well on the way to recovery from the war discombobulation. The enrollment had been the largest in the College's history: 296 at the beginning of the year with 270 remaining at the following commencement. The undergraduate body was swelled by the return of many older students who had dropped out earlier because of the war. The time had now come to consider the optimal enrollment for the College. The question came before the Board of Trustees, and after recommendations from President Ferry and consultations with the faculty, it was decided that 400 was the number of students most desirable under the changed postwar conditions.

Soon after Ferry's arrival he discovered a hazing situation which needed prompt action. It had been his hope that once freed from the duties of a dean, he would have no further obligations in this area of student behavior. However, he learned that the Hamilton undergraduates were enthusiastically engaging in a kind of hazing that exceeded his experience in the past. For some years the Hamilton students had celebrated "paint night" and "gym-showing." In the first case the sophomores armed themselves with pails of green paint, proceeded to strip off the clothes of a captured freshman and to paint his body. The freshmen were free to retaliate in the same fashion, using red paint, but were in-

hibited by their inferior status from taking full advantage of this dubious right.

In the "gym-show," the sophomores would surprise a freshman in his room and make him strip. Pouring water on the floor, and strewing corn meal on it, the second-year men would require the unhappy boy to run and slide repeatedly on his stomach through the mess until he and the floor became bloodied. Ferry found student editorial opinion was strongly in favor of the practice and the College paper regretted only that it was not inflicted on the entire freshman class rather than on the fifty per cent the sophomores managed to catch. The feeling was that such practices prevented weaklings and cowards from applying for admission to the College. Incensed, Ferry went first to the faculty and then to the Board of Trustees, demanding that the practice stop or he must go. Finally, he gained the support he needed and that form of hazing ended.

The year 1920-1921 was a busy time for Ferry. Additional land was acquired for a golf course, a new baseball diamond was laid out and work started on the Russell Sage hockey building. The first of the two major efforts to add to the College's endowment was undertaken and successfully concluded, aided by a \$200,000 gift made conditionally by the General Education Board. The goal set for the drive was \$700,000.

In view of the rising prices and increased cost of living, a hard look was taken at the tuition charges. It was estimated that what the students paid covered only one-quarter of the actual costs. So, starting with the Class of 1926, tuition was raised from \$120 to \$150. Even this increase left the Hamilton figure lower than that of comparable colleges. In addition, scholarships amounting to \$150 for sophomores, juniors and seniors were made available.

In other areas, the 17-acre Talbot farm across the North ravine, complete with two dwellings intended at the time for the housing of college employees, was purchased. A third reservoir was built at a cost of \$29,000, insuring an adequate water reserve for over a quarter of a century.

The curriculum was revised by the addition of a four-year

requirement in physical training, and a major assault made on the esthetic isolation of the College by the addition of Edward Wales Root, '05, son of the Chairman of the Board, to the faculty. His task was to offer a special course in the appreciation of art for six weeks to two groups of ten upper-classmen.

With the decision to increase the size of the College, which resulted in an enrollment of 324 students at the start of the 1921-1922 academic year, of whom 122 were freshmen, it became clear that new dormitory quarters were essential and that classroom space and laboratories were inadequate. There were also side effects on the eating facilities. Larger kitchens became necessary in the Commons. By the end of the Christmas holidays the Russell Sage building was ready for use, with facilities for hockey and track.

In the course of the year, the largest benefactor up to that point in the history of the College died. Hamilton B. Tompkins made the College his residuary legatee. He was a lawyer in New York City and a trustee since 1892, who had established the Tompkins Mathematical Prizes and in 1897 had given a much-needed 50-acre gift. All in all, he donated some \$500,000 to the College.

The updating and expansion continued throughout the following year. In October, 1921, the size of the College was still at 300—there had been an enrollment of 318 at the start of the year. It was decided that the number of chemistry courses be increased from two to four, in keeping with the growing reputation of the College as an outstanding premedical school. Plans were made for the construction of a new biology and geology building. In addition, the Board agreed to increase fringe benefits for the faculty by constructing six new faculty housing units, raising the total in a tenyear period from two to twelve.

In the same year faculty salaries were raised again, with full professors jumping \$1,000 to \$5,000, and associates and assistants going up \$750 and \$500 respectively. In this area, at least, the College was at last on a par with its competitors.

Plans were afoot for the College's physical plant also. The previous October the 24-acre Simeon North land had been

purchased—two-thirds of it to be used for the golf course. The new Science Building, housing the biology and geology departments, at the north end of the second quadrangle, was under construction, and Mrs. Beatrix Farrand of New York City had been engaged to lend her expert advice on the land-scaping of the campus.

President Ferry had drawn up his long-range plans for the expansion of the College. These included the enlargement of the Chemistry Building at an estimated cost of \$100,000; the erection of a college inn, so long a pet scheme of Stryker's; the building of a new \$400,000 gymnasium and the restoration of the old Soper gym as a dormitory; the redesigning of Knox Hall into an administration building (\$30,000); the enlarging of the kitchens and the provision of sleeping quarters for the cook's assistants in the Commons (\$60,000); the construction of a new dormitory (\$350,000); a physics laboratory (\$175,000); an auditorium (\$250,000) and an infirmary (\$150,000). Such was the optimism of the times.

But it was a burgeoning period and the number of applicants for admission had risen from 131 to 175.

Even after presenting this ambitious program, Ferry did not rest on his oars. The following year, he tackled the faculty-student ratio. Although the size of the student body had been set at 400, and had indeed by this time risen to 392, the faculty had not increased proportionately. Excluding the instructors in the physical education department, only five new faculty members had been added since 1919 when there were but 199 students. In other words, the faculty-student ratio had fallen from 1 to 10 in 1917 to 1 to 15.3 in 1924-1925-a slipping of standards reflected in the size of the classes. President Ferry felt that the ratio should be 1 to 8 or 1 to 10. He pointed out to the Board and faculty that it was not intended that the course list should be expanded: in the last seven years the number of courses had increased by only 8. To accomplish what he had in mind called for the addition of 15 new men to the faculty.

Not content to lessen the course load, Ferry also maintained that faculty salaries were still not high enough. He proposed, however, that the next raise should be in recogni-

tion of scholarship, teaching ability and service to the community. In order to establish these factors in raising professorial pay from \$5,000 to \$6,000, he suggested there be a secret vote by the full professors in the College on the men to benefit. Going further, Ferry called for a system of sabbatical leaves on full pay and for the retention on full salary of the young men who needed to complete their doctoral work. He felt that the College should subsidize the faculty's research through the purchase of books and other materials, and by payment of travel expenses. It was his contention that the provision of competent faculty was more important than the erection of new buildings. His full and expensive program was adopted by the Board of Trustees in June, 1925, with the inevitable proviso that it should not be implemented until funds were made available.

It was also decided to renovate Knox Hall and to move the Kirkland Cottage from its isolated position near the cemetery to a spot next to the Commons, improvements supported primarily by Elihu Root. From Mrs. Farrand's surveys of the campus, it was decided that the main asset of the campus was its magnificent view of the valley, now obscured by the overgrowth of trees, and that there should be extensive cutting to open up the view once again.

The following year (1925-1926) the College reached as near its optimal size as possible. The enrollment was 419 in September, which allowed for an attrition down to the preferred 400. The number of applicants for admission was 300; 100 were accepted.

The Carnegie Corporation provided funds for the establishment of courses in music and music appreciation, which resulted in several concert-recitals attended by half the student body. Berrian Shute was appointed professor of music and it was planned that he should add a course in appreciation and harmony the following year. Since Stryker's retirement the Walcott Chair of Ethics and Christian Evidence had been empty. This was now filled by the appointment of John Howard Howson to give courses in the Bible and in ethics, the former open to juniors and seniors, the latter only to seniors.

To implement the proposal for acknowledging scholar-ship and good teaching in the faculty, William P. Shepard, professor of romance languages and Edward Fitch, professor of Greek, were unanimously selected by a secret vote of their peers to have their salaries raised to \$6,000. With the approval of the faculty, the retirement age for faculty was set at seventy, with certain exceptions possible. Further to aid the faculty, in 1926 a Fund for the Enlargement of the Faculty was started with the intention of raising one and a half million dollars. \$400,000 was subscribed within the year. And three new faculty houses were added, to bring close to the campus more of the faculty who previously had had to live in the village and endure the long arduous hill during the winter months.

In 1926 Ferry faced a longstanding and unfortunate situation, illustrating the firm grip the fraternity system held upon the College and the extent to which the administrations had been willing to sacrifice the financial interests of the College to the welfare of the chapters. It had been customary for dormitory rooms to be rented to students in September for a thirty-day period, with the privilege but not the requirement of renewing the leases. The fraternities were in the habit of keeping about 100 rooms empty in the chapter houses until they could be filled by pledged freshmen shortly after the College opened. In addition the fraternities rented more dormitory rooms for their upperclassmen than they could use. This left too few rooms for the entering class. In 1926, for example, 112 new men applied for dormitory rooms for the first few weeks of college, but the fraternities had tied up 120 rooms leaving only 45 rooms for the new applicants.

The matter was considered by a committee of the Board which decided against Ferry's logical solution that the freshmen should remain in the dormitories during their first year and not move to the fraternities. The committee felt that that step would undermine the senior supervision of the first-year students, at the time considered to be one of the chief merits of the fraternity system. It was finally decided that the upperclassmen and sophomores belonging to fraternities be required to house in the chapter houses for the

first few weeks of the year and that dormitory rooms be leased only to such members of these classes as remained unhoused when the fraternities had been filled to capacity. During the first month of college, removals would be allowed to permit all pledged freshmen to move into the chapters, their places in the dormitories being taken by upperclassmen. To make such changes less onerous and confusing, the College undertook to put furniture in all the dormitory rooms—a major break with tradition.

This complicated system was tried for three years, and then discarded. It had involved as many as 200 different movings from room to room in the first three or four weeks of college, and had an even more regrettable effect on the freshmen who were not invited to join the fraternities. In Ferry's words: "To find a room where a non-fraternity Freshman might feel himself not unwelcome was a difficult and a saddening task." It was further agreed that the concept of effective senior supervision of individual freshmen was no longer valid. In October, 1930, therefore, it was voted by the Board that all freshmen must live in the dormitories for the entire first year, effective September, 1931. Aside from cutting down the confusion and insuring the College a fuller occupancy of its facilities, the change served "to save the Freshman who receives no fraternity invitation from the humiliation of being rejected as a roommate and virtually ostracized by the more popular members of the undergraduate body." The storm of protest expected from members of the fraternities, undergraduates, and alumni, did not materialize and the plan continued.

A total of 449 students entered college in September, 1926. The reason for the increase in numbers came from the fact that the College at the time had no way of knowing how many members of the upper classes planned to return until they showed up. It was therefore decreed that such men must signify their intention of returning by August 1 and pay \$25 as a registration fee.

The faculty continued to receive unusual attention. Ferry thought it necessary that, as long as it was not economically feasible to recruit fifteen new men at once, two or three instructors should be added each year until the faculty-student ratio reached the desirable 1 to 10. He pointed out that the salaries in the lower ranks were not high enough vis-à-vis other colleges to hold or get younger men and that it was necessary to appoint them to higher grades, an undesirable situation which could only be rectified by raising the lower salaries.

The plight of the older retired members of the faculty had been since 1915 or so unsatisfactory in the extreme. The pension provisions of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, even though supplemented by a \$500 annuity from the Carnegie Corporation, had not proved sufficient to provide the necessities for the 19 faculty members who had retired since 1915. To correct the economic injustice, the College in 1928 entered the Teachers Annuity and Assurance Association arrangement which has since been in effect, on a basis of steadily expanding coverage. To supplement further the fringe benefits, new faculty houses were erected on the Hill in 1927, making a total of 22 available. In addition, quarters for five groundsmen and their families were readied in the houses beyond the ravine on Campus Road.

For some time, the Brandt house, which had been built by H. C. G. Brandt, professor of modern languages, and is now the chapter house of Gryphon, was rented during the academic year as a faculty club. Since this had to be vacated for use by the Brandt family during the summer months, a source of inconvenience for the bachelor or widowed residents, the College acquired a house above it on the Hill, and appropriated \$5,000 to renovate it as a club, an amenity contributing greatly to the morale of the faculty.

In 1927 President Ferry completed his first decade in office and could look back with considerable satisfaction at the accomplishments achieved under his leadership. However, administrative duties had so occupied his time that he had not been able to continue the teaching of mathematics and in addition his summers had been much taken up with admissions problems. These last he now turned over to other hands, as he prepared to take a leave of absence in Europe.

Just before Ferry took his holiday, he had prepared a breakdown of the course registration over the decade during which the requirements for classical languages had been diminished. It was discovered that, contrary to expectations, the number of students taking Greek and Latin had hardly altered. The classical tradition was holding its own.

In 1929, prior to the catastrophic impact of the depression, the faculty received another fillip in salaries, with the full professors receiving an additional \$500 a year, and the other ranks proportional increases. Indeed, two years passed before the college community felt the impact of the economic decline. Even then the College managed to operate without a deficit for a year, although there was talk of a cut in salaries. The absence of red ink was due largely to the fact that little had to be spent on upkeep: the buildings and campus generally were in such good condition that repairs and renovations could be postponed. The pinch was being felt by the students, however. The costs of house parties were voluntarily reduced and, from the College's standpoint, the student activity tax was lowered from \$25 to \$20. This happy if static condition continued for two years. The enrollment increased somewhat: the optimal figure of 400 students was passed and the number of students after attrition in 1933 was 436. The College as a whole lived off its accumulated fat: plans were even pushed forward in 1937 for the building of a sorely needed new gymnasium. However, there were storm warnings, and it was understood that the following year, if the corner to prosperity were not negotiated, there would have to be salary cuts. These came-to the extent of ten per cent in the higher ranks.

There were other signs of austerity, and among the students there was a greater seriousness. The financial pressure on the undergraduates was increasingly apparent, and the number of requests for scholarship aid increased greatly. During this period, the federal government under NYA made available funds to pay students small amounts for working. For various reasons, one of which was that the College was required to certify that any student receiving federal aid would be unable to attend college without such help,

the College did not see fit to apply for the assistance. It was not until 1937 that the step was taken, largely because the certification rule had been altered to shift the burden of certification of need from the College to the student and his legal guardian.

In 1937, Dr. Ferry reached his seventieth birthday and the completion of a twenty-year rule. His administration must be looked upon as one of the most successful in the College history. However, the onset of a depression and the length of the Ferry administration had taken some of the impetus out of the College's forward movement. The attitude of the College remained conservative and changes were again due, a fact of which Ferry was conscious, according to his successor. But he did not think it mete or wise at the end of his career to institute these, believing them to be the responsibility of the next president.

At the end of Ferry's administration then, the College was pictured as a conservative, middle-class institution of high academic standing but with problems. The image of the College was one of financial plenty, although in fact it was operating at an annual deficit. The tuition rates were below those charged by its peers. Some 25 per cent of the students were on scholarship, but the scholarships were in general of small size. Seventy-five per cent of the undergraduates belonged to fraternities and the remaining 25 per cent had a thin time socially. Whatever provincial aspects the College retained were underlined by the relatively large number (53) of commuters from neighboring localities.

Academic mortality was high: 20 per cent of the students were dropped each year for failure, and only 50 per cent of the matriculants stayed for graduation. These were clear indications that entrance requirements were faulty and that the curriculum needed major revisions, despite the surveys and changes made in the past years.

Faculty salaries—notwithstanding the 10 per cent cut for all those earning more than \$2,000—were more or less competitive, but the inequities of the lower-rank salaries were avoided by the elevation of too many teachers to high rank. All in all, the time seemed once again to have come for changes of a fairly drastic nature.

Pure Liberal Arts

From its beginnings and until the 1870's, the curriculum at Hamilton was dominantly classical and entirely prescribed. Indeed, until about 1825, it was nearly identical with that of Yale College. The courses for each of the four years were cited at first in the Trustee minutes and later printed in the catalogues so that the student knew in advance exactly what he would study in each of his four college years. In general, throughout this long period, all courses were arranged so that each succeeding year's work was based on that of the year before. For the freshmen, the requirements for admission were given in considerable detail in the catalogues. Initially these requirements called for an ability to read, construe, and parse Virgil's Aeneid, Cicero's Select Orations, and the Greek Testament. The applicants, the quality of whose preparation was deemed more important than its quantity, had also to know English grammar and vulgar arithmetic. These entrance requirements, like the curriculum to follow, were also almost identical with those of Yale where the reading of Greek other than the New Testament had been introduced when Timothy Dwight became president.

The aspiring candidate, who could not be younger than fourteen, presented his qualifications to the president and one or two members of the faculty. Edmund Arnold Wetmore, a member of the first freshman class to enter the College, recalled the ordeal:

They hearing me read a few lines of Virgil, five or six verses in the first chapter of John's Gospel, asking me to parse a few words in each, propounding half a dozen questions in some English study, I have forgotten what. The whole affair occupied fifteen to twenty minutes.¹

In common with similar colleges in the country, the disciplinary values of the studies were greatly emphasized. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the purpose remained at Hamilton:

to form the mind to habits of accurate discrimination, close reasoning, and vigorous application; and at the same time furnish it with the great leading facts and principles in Literature, Science and the Arts.²

The ferment over the liberalization of college instruction which engaged the attention of educators, particularly at Harvard and Yale, was dammed effectively for a time by the conservative "Yale Report" of 1829. It erupted again across the country for another fifty years, but did not greatly affect Hamilton's even tenor.

When in 1829 and 1830 the College started its long road back to academic if not financial stability, the faculty and Board could turn their less-divided attentions to curricular matters. In 1830, a committee of the Board, after consulting the faculty, reported that:

unless the academic course in this institution be so arranged as to embrace those branches of science and art, which in the prevailing opinion of learned men have become necessary to a liberal education, and are connected with most of the practical business of life; and unless the necessary professorships be supplied with competent and active men, we shall forfeit our share of happiness. . . . 3

Following this up, the committee, prematurely optimistic as it turned out, suggested that the permanent professorships be in the fields of the ancient languages; in mathematics; and in natural philosophy (widened to include engineering, moral, mental and political science); in the physical sciences which would cover chemistry, geology, botany and zoology;

in rhetoric, already well established; and in divinity.

When Josiah Noves was forced to resign in 1830, after disputes with the Board over his salary and recriminations over his drinking habits, his place was taken by Dr. James Hadley, a member of the faculty of Fairfield Academy. He lectured several times each week on the physical sciences. Because of the meager nature of the equipment in his laboratory, he was obliged to bring with him his own, being paid \$70 for its use. He worked out an arrangement with the College by which he received fees from his students, but, even so, when he left in 1834 he was owed a considerable sum. With his going, the course had to be temporarily discontinued because the Board could not spare the \$500 essential to provide even the most rudimentary equipment. Hadley had been joined on the Hill, the year he left, by the young Asa Gray, also from Fairfield, who lectured on natural history for a term.

Hadley's place was taken by Charles Avery, '20, who combined instruction in natural philosophy (the precursor of physics) and chemistry. He later introduced the extra class system in chemistry which served to give further depth to the science studies. His students in such courses paid extra for the privilege of attending—in 1865 there were fifteen such undergraduates, most of them intending to enter medicine. This arrangement of "extra" courses—in chemistry, law, oratory and metaphysics—for all of which the students paid additional fees, constituted the College's recognition of an elective system until 1872. Avery served the college well in other respects, for he became one of its most assiduous fund-raisers.

In 1831, the Board, disturbed by the lack of a professor of divinity and feeling that the president could not fulfill that duty in addition to the other demands upon his energies, proposed that, as soon as funds became available, an instructor should be added to the faculty, with the title of Pastoral Professor. His duties were to cover instruction on the inspiration of the Scriptures, optional courses in Hebrew and the task of College pastor. Financial stringencies prevented this program from being carried out and the Board rescinded its action on December 22, 1840.

Although the curriculum at Hamilton underwent no basic change in this long period, the subjects studied did gradually increase in difficulty. By 1857 the admission requirements covered English, Latin and Greek grammar, including prosody, and correct accentuation in reading; Sallust or Caesar's Commentaries; Virgil's Aeneid; Cicero's Select Orations; prose of the Greek reader; first book of Xenophon's Anabasis; and algebra to quadratic equations. The standards of the College were gradually raised above those of a high school. Some subjects, such as French, earlier considered suitable only for upperclassmen, were dropped to the freshman and sophomore level.

In the same period more subjects were added to the course list. French had been introduced in 1826 as a permissive course; German, taught by Benjamin W. Dwight, came in 1839 on the same basis. In 1859, these languages were elevated to the level of requirements. In 1857, lectures on English literature and Shakespeare were introduced for juniors and seniors. Courses in conchology introduced in 1860 were balanced by a four-year Bible requirement, initiated by President Fisher. In the years 1862-1864, some modern history was also taught. It has been said that in 1858, geology, as taught by Oren Root, received greater emphasis on the Hill than at any other New York college.

Even so, the classics and mathematics courses constituted one-half of the academic load. Every student, for example, took 2½ years of Greek, 2½ years of Latin and mathematics; one year of rhetoric and elocution, with speeches and debate required every year; two terms of French; one term of German; two terms of physics, chemistry and psychology; one term each of astronomy, political science, logic, constitutional law, municipal law and civil engineering.

It was not until 1872 that true optional courses were introduced and then only in the senior year. For the fourth-year student, political philosophy, given by the president, became an option in the first of the three terms; analytical chemistry and organic chemistry in the second term; and metaphysics and philology in the third term. Even with these changes the course of study remained rigid and nar-

row. Its backbone still consisted of Latin, Greek and mathematics. All students took the same courses and were marked at every recitation and at every examination. At the end of the four years, the average of all the marks was computed and announced, a procedure which made the suspense before the announcement of rank almost unbearable for the students. The practice was done away with in the mideighties and the grades thereafter were reported annually to each class.

In 1875 the Board made a decision to add an elective or scientific course, to differ from the usual curriculum and to lead to the B.Sc. This was not, however, immediately implemented although a fillip was given to the program in 1878 when Mrs. Valerie G. Stone of Walden, Massachusetts, donated \$30,000 for a department of natural history. As a sop to the Presbyterian tone of the College, the avowed purpose of this was "for the purpose of promoting Christian education." The new department was to be headed by Ambrose P. Kelsey, '56, one-time principal of a normal school in New Hampshire. His wife was a cousin of the donor.

No fundamental course changes were adopted until 1882, when the influence of President Darling emerged. Shortly after he had been inaugurated, the curriculum was scrutinized by the faculty whose ranks had been joined by Professor George P. Bristol, '76, in classics; Professor H. C. G. Brandt, '72, in modern languages; and Professor Francis M. Burdick, '69, in law, economics and history. As a result, the word "elective," so long controversial in American college circles, appeared in the Hamilton catalogues for the first time. In the 1882-1883 catalogue was this statement on "Elective studies":

It has been decided, after mature consideration by the faculty, to adopt a course, which shall provide for a certain amount of elective or optional studies. The details of this plan will be announced hereafter.

The following year's catalogue showed the change; the innovations decided on, although revolutionary for Hamilton,

were concentrated in the junior and senior years, in this way differing from the pattern established years earlier at Harvard and Cornell, where the system had covered the entire four year course. Under the Hamilton plan, in the sophomore year only French, German and differential calculus became electives in the third term. But for the juniors, thirteen elective courses were available; and for the seniors, twenty-two courses were termed electives.

The extension in courses was gradual and in the decade 1883-1893, Greek and Latin remained the dominant subjects. But in 1891-1892, the year in which President Darling died, the faculty moved again by devising the "Latin-Scientific Course," which when

fully arranged . . . will lead to an Academic Degree other than Bachelor of Arts. The requirements for admission were to be "more fully explained hereafter," but for the current year, Biology, General Chemistry, and Analytical Chemistry were required in place of Greek.⁴

It was said that this move was suggested by Albro B. "Bugs" Morrill, professor of biology, when he learned that four applicants for admission, otherwise admissible, had no preparation in Greek.

The following year, the first in which President Stryker headed the College, the requirements for the then non-classicists were spelled out:

For admission . . . the requirements are the same as for the Classical Course in Latin, Mathematics and English. But one year's study of French or German with the outlines of General History and Physical Geography are required, in place of Greek.⁵

The 1893 catalogue described the two courses as follows: They are two, the Classical and the Latin Scientific, each occupying four years and ordinarily requiring attendance upon not less than three recitations daily. It is intended that the two courses shall be equivalents in work demanded. Each of them, by the ample electives of the later

two years, can be so modified as to satisfy quite various individual requirements. . . . The Latin Scientific course, omitting all Greek, and affording increased room for the physical sciences and for all English studies, leads to the degree of Bachelor of Science, or Literature, or of Philosophy.

To counteract the inevitable arguments that such a proliferation of possibilities would lead to over-specialization, the 1894 catalogue contained the following statement, which was repeated for a number of years:

University specialization is not attempted: but thoro general introduction is given, & a solid foundation is laid for graduate work. . . .

It was now possible to earn any one of four degrees at Hamilton: the A.B., the B.Sc., the Litt.B., or the Ph.B. The Litt.B. was never conferred and the title was eliminated in 1896. In the Class of 1896 three students received Ph.B.'s; it was not until 1900 that a B.Sc. was conferred. In 1918 the Ph.B. was dropped, together with any further mention of the Latin-Scientific course. The B.Sc. degree was last granted in 1943.

The three departments of physics, geology and biology were organized to strengthen both the old classical course and the new science offerings. Instruction was in charge of "an enlarged force of specialists, and . . . equipped with new apparatus and with improved laboratories." As part of this program, the department of biology was founded in the autumn of 1891 by A. B. Morrill, without the support, however, of laboratory, apparatus, books or funds. Through the generosity of the Reverend E. P. Powell of Clinton, a laboratory was partially equipped in Skinner Hall (as North College was then known), which also housed a modern languages room. A course in general biology was given in the fall term as a required subject for the Latin-Scientific course. Mammalian anatomy, offered as an elective for seniors, was taken by twelve students. In the course of the new department's

first year, the Western Alumni Association provided funds to buy microscopes. A reference library was begun at the same time. The laboratory was enlarged in the following summer to accommodate twenty students. The course in biology arranged by Morrill extended initially through five terms in the junior and senior years. The innovation was so popular that an assistant in the department was necessary after the first year.

In 1897 mathematics was required of the students in the classical course through the second term of their sophomore year. For the undergraduates taking the Latin-Scientific course, mathematics was required through the third term of the sophomore year. Writing and public speaking remained four-year requirements, with English composition and declamation in the first two years and debate and oratory in the last two. It was not, however, until 1913 that the catalogue explicitly pointed to the unique emphasis given to public speaking in the course structure. The statement was then amended to read: "Public speaking in some form is required of every man from the time he enters until he graduates." Bible was a required subject for all four years. And Chapel was required at 8:30 on weekdays and at 10:30 on Sundays.

In 1898 solid geometry was made an entrance requirement beginning with the Class of 1902. And in the same year, the use of Greek or Latin in announcing prizes was left to the discretion of President Stryker, whose Latin on ceremonial occasions soon became limited to "Musica sit" directed at the orchestras hired for the events.

A shift in control occurred in 1905 when at a Board meeting it was decided that the president, after consultation with the faculty, should in effect have the final word on the curriculum.

Once the elective system had made its appearance, it gradually spread through the entire curriculum. Its introduction, even on a limited scale, had several results. There were of course gradual reductions in the number of required courses. Whereas before 1882 there had been practically no electives, by 1912 the number had increased to approximately fifty per cent of the offerings. Over the period also there was a great

increase in the language requirements, a change made at the relative expense of the sciences, the social sciences and philosophy. And of course there was an expansion in the number of courses offered. In 1918 the freshmen were given one elective, this being either a foreign language, biology or chemistry.

About 1910 it became evident that further examination of the entrance requirements and of the curriculum was necessary if the College was to go forward. The matter was discussed by the Board, the faculty and among the alumni, with the result that a committee of graduates and of educational experts was drawn together to report on the matter. There was a general feeling that no move should be made toward vocationalism but that maybe the classics should be emphasized less than before. From the deliberations emerged a group system of studies, starting with the sophomore year, through which the College sought to "secure breadth without superficiality, and thoroughness without cramping rigidity."

The special committee was chaired by Professor George P. Bristol, '76, who had by now joined the Cornell faculty. Professor H. C. G. Brandt was the sole Hamilton faculty member on it. The report was ready by the autumn of 1912 and the following year, as a result, the group system of studies, which remained in effect through the 1940's, was introduced. Under the new plan, the courses were organized into three groups. In the first or "A" group, were the foreign languages, ancient and modern, Anglo-Saxon and Middle English. From this group each student was required, from 1913 to 1915, to study during his second year a minimum of two courses and one during his junior year. This requirement, added to the requirement of three foreign languages in the freshman year, brought the total number of hours in languages to thirty-six. In 1915, the total was reduced to thirty hours for graduation. The following year, the requirement of Latin for those few freshmen who presented only two units of Latin for admission was dropped.

Group B covered the social sciences, English literature, philosophy, ethics and religion, and public speaking. From

this group each student was required to select during his second and third years a minimum of one course each year. The third or "C" group included mathematics and the natural sciences and the requirements were the same as in group B. During a student's senior year he was required to choose one course from each of two groups.

The effect of the group arrangement was to prevent any student from doing all his language work in the classics. The faculty required each to study at least two years of one modern language.

The requirement of a year course prevented the satisfaction of the C requirement in the sophomore and junior years by electing courses solely in mathematics. At least one year's work of six semester hours had to be taken in the natural sciences. Freshman mathematics continued to be required.

While the specific subject requirements after the first year, except for public speaking, were dropped, the group system called for the work in the second year to be largely prescribed. Under the plan sophomores until 1915 were allowed free electives to a total of six of their thirty hours, and after that year a total of twelve.

In 1918, after President Ferry's arrival, foreign language requirements were reduced by six hours to twenty-four hours. Candidates for the B.S. degree were no longer required to study Latin. One elective, from biology, chemistry or a third foreign language, was allowed during the freshman year. In 1919, history was added. A limited system of major fields of concentration was added and the Ph.B. degree was abolished (the last student to be granted this degree was graduated in 1921).

Between 1918 and 1930, group A became exclusively the preserve of the foreign languages. Anglo-Saxon and Middle English were transferred into group B. When in 1920 an art department was set up and six years later a music department together with the re-establishment of the department of ethics and religion, the courses offered in these areas were also placed in group B. Under this regrouping, work in two ancient and four modern languages carried greater weight than work in ten other subjects: arts, economics, English

composition, English literature, ethics and religion, history, music, philosophy, political science, and public speaking.

In 1930 the requirement that candidates for the B.S. degree had to restrict the choice of their majors to science and mathematics was removed. The sole distinction now between the A.B. and B.S. degrees was the requirement that A.B. candidates must study at least one year of a classical language in college. Thereafter students who studied neither Latin nor Greek were given B.S. degrees, regardless of whether their fields were English literature, philosophy, music, or any of the social sciences.

In 1935, dissatisfaction with the curriculum led President Ferry to appoint a curriculum committee. The group made no suggestions for basic changes, because they did not want to tie the hands of Dr. Ferry's successor. They considered but did not adopt the following suggestions: the substitution of proficiency tests for course requirements in foreign languages, English composition, and public speaking; the modification of the system of specialization to permit greater concentration in a single field; honors courses for the gifted students; the setting up of a counseling system; the initiation of comprehensive examinations; and a less rigid program for the freshmen. From their deliberations came few changes and those reduced requirements in the three groups and the number of hours devoted to public speaking, and made political science a freshman elective.

At the end of Dr. Ferry's long term, there had been no thorough revision of the curriculum since 1913. It was evident that mathematics, foreign languages, English composition and public speaking were favored subjects in the curriculum. In some areas, particularly in physics, economics, history, philosophy and the fine arts, the College stood inferior to its competing colleges. The demands of the language and mathematics departments insured that many students were being graduated without the breadth of education traditionally connected with Hamilton. It was clear also that the freshman curriculum was comparatively rigid. By the time of President Ferry's retirement, it had become evident that the Hamilton curriculum was about to receive a

drastic overhauling. The group system had called for the students taking each year one language, one science, and one other subject that was neither a language nor a science. Into it were built four years of public speaking, one year of English composition, a year of natural science, two majors each consisting of three year-long courses in a department and, toward the end, proficiency in a foreign language. The system had now had its day.

President William Harold Cowley, Dr. Ferry's successor, had definite ideas of what changes were desirable and he quickly went to work to implement them. He proclaimed that any Hamilton graduate should have six basic skills: the ability to speak his own language correctly and effectively; the ability to read his own language competently; the ability to write clearly and well; the ability to read a foreign language with facility; the ability to think clearly; and the ability to work and live with other people.

In addition the graduate should be oriented in philosophy, religion and literature; he should have a knowledge of history and politics; he should know of the history and methods of science in general, and in relation to one specific science; he should have a knowledge of physiology and psychology; he should know the principles of human relations; and lastly, he should be familiar with at least one of the creative arts.

This was a very large order, and President Cowley set about studying it from the bottom, beginning with the entrance requirements. From his examinations came reports, totaling 70,000 words, which were submitted to the Board and to the faculty. Some fruits came in 1940 when in place of a requirement of two languages, students were expected to became proficient in one, either ancient or modern. The year's compulsory mathematics was no longer required and the B.S. degree was dropped, making it possible for the first time for a recipient of a B.A. to have taken neither Greek nor Latin on the Hill.

Cowley's proposals ran into heavy weather, partly for reasons of personality, partly because of their comprehensive nature. The program split the faculty. In any case, the im-

minence of America's entrance into World War II changed the emphasis from curricular matters to problems of survival, questions which increasingly occupied the president's time and energies as it became necessary for the College to play host to large military training programs of uncertain duration. President Cowley resigned in 1944.

In July, 1944, a seven-man faculty committee, headed by Boyd C. Patterson, then professor of mathematics, and a powerful opponent to the Cowley administration, started an investigation of the curriculum which lasted for three years. The report they evolved did away with the group system. Their proposals were based on these principles: that the students should actively engage in the educational processes; that the students should be expected to grow during their college years; that the College was primarily an educational institution: that the student should, toward the end of his collegiate career, demonstrate his ability to undertake some distinguished work. From the application of these principles, it was expected that Hamilton graduates have a superior command of their own language, both written and oral; that they have a facility in a foreign language, together with some knowledge of that country's history and culture; that they understand the scientific method; that they have undertaken some significant research in one field of knowledge; that elective courses be chosen so as to bring out latent talents and interest. To give viability to the program, the committee proposed the setting up of a faculty committee on studies to continue investigations in curricular problems.

The committee, on the basis of faculty and trustee response to its initial report, submitted a second which was adopted in 1950 and 1951. This restated the objectives of the Hamilton program and set forth six areas considered necessary to a liberal education:

- a. A superior command and comprehension of the English language, both oral and written.
- b. A reasonable command of one foreign language.
- c. An understanding of the nature of reasoning and an acquaintance with the natural world as known through

the sciences.

- d. An ability to enjoy and understand the creative arts and a knowledge of the world's artistic masterpieces.
- e. A knowledge of the inter-relation of man and society, past and present.
- f. An understanding of the intellectual bases of ethical judgment.

The adoption of this report resulted in the elimination of the "two major system," under which a student took any three courses in each of two departments. In its place was substituted a requirement in one field of concentration. This stricture was to be satisfied by five year-courses (some of which were specifically stipulated) in one department, or by as few as three courses in one department supported by four approved complementary courses in related departments. This pattern was later simplified to cover four year-courses which, together with senior study, comprised the standard course requirement.

The implementation of these principles, based on the retention of a relatively short course list, and helped along by the improved caliber of successive classes of matriculants, has occupied the faculty since that time. The faculty introduced in 1959 a system of comprehensive examinations for seniors to be fully effective for the Class of 1961. A program of semi-independent study for upperclassmen and one of senior study were steps also taken to insure a steady maturing of the student during his college career and an increased emphasis upon independent work and the synthesizing of his knowledge.

The Cowley Era

When the Board of Trustees was casting round for a successor to President Ferry in 1937 and 1938, it considered various educators, including among others Robert M. Hutchins, and James Lewis Morrill, later President of the University of Minnesota, together with an alumnus member of the Board itself. Stormy administrations had not been unknown at Hamilton and each president, even the most successful, had had his ups and downs with the faculty and the Trustees. But when the Board settled on William Harold Cowley, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1924, it opened a regime which proved to be as tumultuous as any in the College's history.

Cowley, who was inaugurated on October 29, 1938, with a pomp and circumstance unusual to the Hill, came from Ohio State University where he had taught psychology since 1929, rising through the ranks to a professorship in that discipline. A young man, energetic and enthusiastic, trained in the new methodology of education, Cowley was an advocate of Holoism-he used that spelling because General Jan Christiaan Smuts had pre-empted "holism" earlier in a different context—a philosophy of education which asserted that the school and college must be interested in the emotional, moral, religious, social, esthetic, and physical as well as in the intellectual development of students. "Holoism asserts, in brief, that educational institutions must be concerned with the whole student in relationship to the whole of society"so Cowley stated in his inaugural address, contrasting this concept with an arid intellectualism which he claimed had been in conflict with the more general view since the 1840's. "I align myself with the traditional British-American philosophy of education that the purpose of the college is the training of the whole student, not of his mind alone"—he had this point of view in mind when he spoke of the College becoming the Oxford of America.

Cowley, nothing if not an extrovert, came into an environment not easily understood or mastered by a man of his enthusiasms and temperament. He considered the College "really . . . a very civilized community" and pointed to the fact that "many faculty wives not only smoke a good deal but many faculty houses serve wine and beer" as certain proof that it was not a "stodgy puritanical place." He clearly looked upon his new charge as "staunch and even reactionary Republican"—his own politics were not inquired about before he accepted the presidency. Accepting that the College was not a liberal institution, he considered it his job to make it so.

It was perhaps prophetic that on the first day of his administration, Cowley, leaving the presidential house for his office, slipped on the waxed stairs, dislocated a transverse process and landed in Utica's Faxton Hospital. Speaking in political terms—a fair thing to do since Cowley looked upon the processes of educational administration as essentially political in nature—his honeymoon at the College was relatively brief. His speedy pressure for academic changes, coupled with a certain impatience with those who disagreed with his program, combined to alienate what he termed "the old guard" of the faculty, a powerful and vocal minority with a pipeline to the Board of Trustees, of whom he said "we have the usual collection of stuffed shirts and pedants, but they're not in the majority by any means."²

The College was operating at a deficit of some \$11,000 a year when Cowley took over, a deficiency made up by the cut in faculty salaries and by the contributions of the alumni. The tuition fees were lower than at comparable institutions and much of the endowment was invested in unproductive areas: there was an over-investment, for example, in real estate. Early in 1940 the tuition fees were raised to \$400 and steps were taken to cut investment losses in the endowment

funds and to reinvest in more fruitful areas.

A quarter of the students received scholarships from the College. These grants were not large: the total expenditure came to only \$25,000 a year which was much lower than at competing colleges. Cowley was disturbed that the Commons was not functioning at full capacity. He feared that economic pressures kept some students from getting proper meals. The federal NYA program was still in operation but for the needy student it provided only a maximum of \$20 a month.

There were strong indications that all was not well with the admissions policies of the College and that the curriculum needed drastic revision. Academic attrition amounted to twenty per cent a year and only fifty per cent of the matriculants stayed through till graduation. Cowley, quickly aware of potentital opposition in the faculty and Board to changes in these areas, moved with due deliberation to raise the standards and diminish the mortality. In his first report to the Board, the new president stated that of the freshman class one-third was below desirable levels in their intelligence test standings. In March, 1939, he wrote:

We are today struggling with dozens of picayunish considerations, all of which stem from the compromises that have been made during the past seventy-five years in our educational philosophy. I'd like to kick all this out of the window. . . . ⁸

The goals he considered necessary for Hamilton undergraduates were, among other things, an ability to speak and write well; work in logic, history, English literature; a knowledge of the scientific method; an ability to read one foreign language; and some introduction to the fine arts. Early in 1939 he selected a member of the faculty to make an intensive study of ten comparable colleges to find out what they were doing with these problems. He himself devoted much of his energies during his first year in office to compiling a long report on admissions policies. In essence, he proposed to the faculty and later to the Board that the new policy

state that Hamilton College did not require any fixed pattern of secondary-school preparation for admission. In place of the requirements calling for the College Entrance Board examinations, or examination by the College, or Regents examinations or by certificate from the student's secondary school, together with fifteen rather rigidly defined units of secondary-school subjects, a supplement to the 1939-1940 Catalogue merely called for the following:

A candidate for admission is expected to have completed a secondary school course which gives preparation for the work of a liberal arts college. Fifteen units will be required drawn from the usual college preparatory subjects of English, mathematics, foreign language, science and social studies.

Above all else Hamilton College stresses ability to do intellectual work. The Committee on Admissions will therefore consider the applications of the exceptionally able candidates who are highly recommended by their schools but whose preparation is somewhat irregular in number of units presented and subjects studied.

The Hamilton plan of individualized admissions has been established on the principle that secondary school preparation and all other admissions questions must be reviewed individually for and with each candidate.

The changes came up for vote before the faculty just before Christmas, 1939, and were adopted by a vote of 29 to 16. In commenting on his victory, Cowley wrote:

It's been a grand discussion and unusually significant because by careful political handling of the situation it has been possible to keep the minority sweet. A trace of bitterness came out early during the discussions, but by taking three members of the Board and three members of the Faculty on a two-day conference, many of the difficulties were ironed out. And more important than anything, the Faculty learned that I have neither horns nor pointed tail and that I did pursue the democratic procedure of

following the will of the majority. Moreover, I convinced them that I would use no pressure on anyone to make them vote my way.⁴

Following the vote of the faculty, in whose councils the sweetness was less prevalent than Cowley had hoped, the matter went to the Board for approval. Here again Cowley anticipated a fight or at least delaying tactics, but at the January, 1940, meeting, the plan was adopted, with one abstention. Since the president had given notice that the changes in admission were only the first of several recommendations covering the entire curriculum, he had feared that consideration of the first step might be delayed by the opposition until the whole package was presented.

While the admissions matter occupied much time and energy on the Hill in 1939, other steps were taken. At the faculty level, instructors were once again admitted to faculty meetings with a vote, a privilege denied them for a number of years. The Myers lecture fund, established in 1912 in memory of John Ripley Myers, '86, had in the depth of the depression been diverted to general college purposes. It was now devoted to its original purpose of bringing outside speakers to break down the isolation of the Hill.

The problem of the non-fraternity students, who comprised a quarter of the student body and were perforce underprivileged socially, was tackled. Headquarters for the Squires Club, named after William Harder Squires, from 1891 to 1933 professor of philosophy, were set up in Commons. The small room at the east of the great hall was furnnished as a social headquarters and the club in the course of its first year held two banquets and several teas for the faculty. Dues for the members were set at a dollar a year. The custom of holding a sub-freshman day was re-established—it had been abandoned during the depression—and a student council of five seniors and two juniors was set up to aid in the governing of the undergraduates.

In order to provide offices for the faculty, the physics department was moved out of the first floor of the Root Hall of Science, and placed in the new science building along with biology and geology. In this way eleven offices were provided, although the move took away almost the last connection of the Root building with the sciences. The College was among the very few not to have faculty offices, partly because it was felt that with so much faculty housing near the campus, the professors could see their students in the studies with which each house was furnished.

The office of dean of the faculty was continued, a post held by one of Cowley's faculty opponents. The president, however, continued his search for a dean of students, for which task he wished to obtain the services of a skilled psychologist.

Cowley had found that, although the loyalty of the alumni of the College to their alma mater was intense, there was little effort made to convert the good will into regular financial support. The image of the College in the alumni mind was one of an institution well-endowed, with its operating deficits taken care of by the beneficence of a few wealthy Trustees. Cowley undertook with vigor to awaken the interest of the alumni and to let them know the true shape of things. This was accomplished in part by establishing a publicity bureau. Prior to this step, publicity had been handled by students and only \$400 had been allotted to this function each year. The rewards were quickly seen in the increased receipts in the annual alumni fund drives.

Cowley was a layman and there was fear in some quarters that the religious side of the College's life might not receive proper attention under his ministrations. The College, despite some questionings and restiveness on the part of the undergraduates, had maintained an "alarm clock chapel" three mornings a week and a compulsory service, with the usual cut system, on Sundays. Cowley made clear his intention to conduct these services himself.

One of the high spots of Cowley's eventful first year came at commencement as a result of the decision to give an honorary degree to Ezra Pound, perhaps the best known and most distinguished living alumnus of the College. At the alumni luncheon, Pound was the first speaker and delivered what at first seemed to be a Republican speech denouncing President Roosevelt. The last two minutes of his time he de-

voted to reading from his own works on economics without, however, making any apparent converts. He was followed by H. V. Kaltenborn, the radio commentator, who chose to attack the concepts of fascism, much to Pound's distress. The poet heckled the speaker and the situation became tense, especially since the audience's sympathy was automatically with the commentator. When Kaltenborn finished, Cowley was able to save the situation only by commencing the singing of "Carissima" immediately.

The second step following the revision of admissions requirements occupied Cowley's attention during 1940 and 1941. Proceeding from the premise that "We are of the opinion here at Hamilton that the professional educator is in a rut and that he needs to be derricked out by the common sense judgments and opinions of intelligent laymen"—a view which not all of his colleagues would have endorsed-Cowley wrote to some fifty prominent men and women, posing this question: "What are the qualities within the general possibilities of education which we should try to produce in our young men?" Among those approached were such men as Maxwell Anderson, Bernard Baruch, Charles A. Beard, Judge Brandeis, William O. Douglas, John Foster Dulles, Herbert Hoover, Walter Lippmann, Lewis Mumford, and Wendell Willkie. From the assembled replies, Cowley hoped to produce a publishable book. The venture was not entirely successful: only eighteen of those approached replied and of these only six in such a way as to merit the \$100 honorarium Cowley had suggested for their efforts.

Cowley was aware that his proposals on the curriculum would raise a determined opposition—he considered that at least twenty-five per cent of the faculty would not accept the changes. He felt, however, that the majority could be convinced of the desirability of change, but knew that "every member... has his own pet theories and his own private preserves which he believes he must protect." He wrote that "to get through all the tackling that has to be done, I'm going to have to be a consummate openfield runner. Besides that I've got to call the signals, and I don't look forward to an easy time." And:

Faculty psychology on the matter of change is both amusing and important. For years everything has been fairly static at Hamilton, and now they find many things moving in a number of directions which seem to some members of the faculty to be undesirable. I am certain that I'm going to cover more ground faster by seeming not to encourage everything that should be changed, even though I agree with the need of the change. I am frankly playing academic politics, but I've been playing the game for fifteen years, and I think I know it fairly well.⁵

In the beginning the steps Cowley suggested were five in number. The first, changing the language requirements from what he called "time-serving in two languages" to mastery of one, was accepted by the faculty on June 3, 1940. The second, the abolition of compulsory mathematics for all students, was accepted on the same day. He further proposed that the instruction in English composition needed drastic improvement, that each freshmen be given a full year to prove himself, so that there would be no freshmen dropped for academic failure at the end of the first semester. As part of this pattern, he also wanted the number of courses taken by the freshmen reduced from five to four.

On the same day that the faculty accepted the languages and mathematics proposals, they also voted henceforth to offer only the A.B. degree.

During this same period, Cowley introduced a controversial practice on the Hill: there was issued to the members of the senior class a questionnaire covering various aspects of college life as they had experienced it. The points covered included the curriculum, scheduling, faculty-student relationships, study habits, student morale, and their opinions of instructors. The questionnaires were not signed by the students. This form of checking the condition of a college has its advocates and had been used elsewhere, particularly in western institutions. On the Hill it was an unpopular bomb shell, inevitably sharpening the antagonism between the powerful minority in the faculty and the president.

In a further effort to discover from the widest possible

base what changes should be made in the curriculum, Cowley followed the practice of inviting teams of visiting experts to go over the work of the several departments. In 1939 the departments of education and chemistry were investigated in this way, and the following year the departments of public speaking and the social sciences. Admirable and even necessary as this might have been, the practical result was to stir up more faculty resentment. Even had all the reports from the outsiders been laudatory, and they were not, there would have been objections, natural in any faculty, to a looking over the shoulder at one's work. The situation was tense on the Hill in 1940.

A particularly happy arrangement began in 1940, when Thomas Brown Rudd, a onetime student in the Class of 1921, member of the Board, and erstwhile District Attorney of Oneida County, was induced to act as comptroller of the College, dividing his time and salary with the presidency of the Munson-Williams-Proctor Art Institute, then at the beginning of its most useful period in the cultural life of Utica.

Early in 1941, Cowley, who had previously been considered for the presidency of New York University and for the state commissionership of education, became a prominent candidate for the presidency of the University of Minnesota. Through a chain of accidents, which in retrospect seem comic rather than tragic, the announcement of the offer was made prematurely, and a period of intense excitement ensued. When Cowley finally decided against the move, a decision more or less forced on him, there was showered on him a demonstration of student support which his declaimers considered not entirely spontaneous.

The offer gave Cowley a good opportunity to present to the Board of Trustees his program of curricular and other changes and to extract from them their approval. He proposed a reorganization of the public speaking department; compulsory courses for freshmen in history; compulsory courses for sophomores in history, philosophy and the methods of science; additional courses in history, economics and political science; and the setting up of courses in psychology and social psychology, with the department of psychology to be separated from that of education. He wished that a program of creative arts be established and that a system of majors should place a greater emphasis on specialization in the last two years of the college course. He suggested that the group system and the credit system should be drastically reorganized, and that comprehensive examinations and senior theses be introduced.

Outside the curricular field, he proposed that each faculty member should be provided with an office, that Carnegie and South Colleges be modernized, that a new dormitory be erected on the site of Middle College, that the enrollment of the College be stabilized at 500, that three or four new faculty houses be built, that there be erected an addition to the Library and a wing to Buttrick Hall to house the increasing number of administrative officers, that there was a great need for an auditorium, an art building and an infirmary. In particular he felt that the Chapel should be restored.

So far as the faculty was concerned, he considered that the retirement age should be set at 65, that some members should be immediately retired, and that others should be relocated.

It was a comprehensive presentation and in the enthusiasm of the moment the Board accepted it.

At the same time that these far-reaching proposals were being made and partially digested, other things were happening on the Hill, all under the increasingly heavy shadow of the war in Europe which, through the national draft program, threatened a major transformation in traditional college existence.

In the seven years following 1933, the College had remained in financial straits. For five of the years the College had avoided a deficit operation only by reason of reductions in salaries and by neglecting proper plant maintenance. Even with new salary rates in effect, Hamilton was still not in the running with comparable institutions. To offset these disabilities, a tuition increase was proposed to take effect in 1941—there had not been one since 1936 when the fees were jumped from \$250 to \$300.

In 1940 the College took over from the defunct General

Association for Undergraduate Activities (which had been founded in 1912) the operation of the book store, which had been inadequately managed for more than a decade by that organization. On July 5, 1940, was held the first meeting of the new academic council, a successor to the faculty committee on schedule and studies, which for the past twenty years had been headed by a man of whom it was reported that his own subject field received preferential treatment in the distribution of class hours. In the same year an athletic council was set up, comprised of four faculty members, two alumni and one student appointed by the chairman of the student council. The new body was to unify and correlate the activities of all the college athletic programs.

During this period the College had a series of unfortunately poor football seasons—resulting in a loss of prestige only partly offset by the successes of the hockey team under Coach Albert Ira Prettyman. At the end of the 1940 season, the football coach submitted his resignation under conditions which for a time evoked the possibility of an investigation by the American Association of University Professors. To replace him, the College engaged Forest Evashevski, a young football hero from the University of Michigan. It was intended to make the position a rotating one with a campus life of only four years or so, but Evashevski resigned in 1942.

In 1939 the charter was changed to have the president as well as the faculty hold office at the will and pleasure of the Trustees and the number of alumni trustees was increased from four to seven. In the same period, it was arranged that the Alumni Council should be the electing agency for the alumni trustees and that the cumbersome method of a vote by the entire alumni body be abandoned.

At the 1940 commencement, at which the singer Paul Robeson was given an honorary degree, to the later embarrassment of the College, the alumni luncheon was held on Saturday before commencement instead of on the more leisurely Monday. The rescheduling reflected a change in the business and travel tempo of the country. At the administrative level, weekly staff meetings were begun with the minutes being distributed to Board members and faculty—a pro-

cedure later dropped. A student publications board had already been established in an effort to improve the quality of undergraduate publications.

A publicity bureau and photographic bureau, theretofore operated on an amateur basis, were begun and the practice of issuing a student handbook, to take the place of the earlier bluebook of the YMCA, was issued.

The Board, in an effort to invest more effectively the funds of the College which then had a book value of \$4,500,000, of which \$2,500,000 were invested in real estate and mortgages, brought in an expert to convert its unproductive holdings. With the rise in tuition, it became possible to restore half the salary cuts which had been in effect since the early nineteen thirties. In June, 1941, the Friends of Hamilton Fund was started, initiated by a gift of \$500 from Paul C. Fancher.

By commencement time, 1941—the celebration was held on May 25 instead of June 15—the College was beginning to feel the pinch of the national preparation for war, with the calls of the draft boards affecting students and faculty. For the next four years the principal preoccupations of the president and the College were to be with survival. Questions of curricular reform were perforce subordinated. Early in that year, Cowley feared that the enrollment of the College might fall by 200 students, which would lead to a budgetary deficit of over \$100,000. He was extremely worried, in private and public, by what he considered a conscious effort on the part of the large universities to aggrandize themselves during the period of national emergency at the expense of the small liberal arts colleges. These he felt might not be able to survive.

Cowley was also deeply disturbed by Robert Hutchins' action at the University of Chicago in establishing a two-year course leading to an earned A.B. It seemed to him a wholly erroneous trend—he was a vigorous opponent of Hutchins' educational innovations and philosophies and spent so much time and energy in opposing him that in May, 1942, the Board suggested that perhaps his energies might better be directed elsewhere.

In a survey covering his first three years in office, Cowley

was able to report that, aided by a Carnegie Foundation subvention of \$75,000 granted in 1937, he had finally been able to engage a dean of students. A protracted search to fill this office had resulted in the choice of Campbell Dickson, a Dartmouth graduate and a psychologist who stayed for only three years before taking up a commission in the army. The Carnegie grant also allowed the College to add to the faculty an instructor in education and psychology (after separating these disciplines from the department of philosophy), and to hire an assistant to the president. The research into the problems of admissions and of the freshman curriculum, the inauguration of a testing program, the revitalization of the alumni program, and the establishment of a phonetics laboratory were made possible by the same fund. The work on the alumni program was fruitful: the number of participants in the 1941 fund drive jumped from 25 per cent to 60 per cent and the amount raised from \$8,600 to \$27,000. The alumni gifts allowed lounge rooms to be installed in North, South and Carnegie dormitories, the plumbing in South and Carnegie to be renewed, and faculty offices to be provided in Root Hall (nineteen such offices were by now located about the campus).

In 1941 it was proposed that the College should have a summer session, partly to offset the financial problems arising from the wartime situation—a pattern previously inaugurated in other colleges. The faculty, aware of the difficulties faced by the administration, volunteered to staff the session without additional compensation.

The year 1942 was not good for the president. On top of the disruptions stemming from the national and international scene, Cowley was under increasing fire on the Hill. There were indications that an undergraduate feeling of dissatisfaction with the man and his policies was being added to that already existing among the faculty. The introduction of the senior questionnaires had created so much heat that their merits were being questioned at the trustee level. Two senior members of the faculty as a matter of principle objected to an added teaching burden resulting from the wartime situation. They took their case to the Trustees and

gained their point, over Cowley's strenuous protests. The pressures on the president became greater: there was no surcease from those imposed by the war. It became necessary for Cowley, in the interests of the College, to spend six weeks in Washington, leaving Thomas Brown Rudd, the comptroller, to serve as acting president.

By the end of 1942, the face of the College had changed. It was clear that the draft of 18- and 19-year-old boys would reduce the normal enrollment to students who were physically unfit or under draft age. To expedite the leisurely prewar instructional pattern, it was decided to admit freshmen in September, in June (for the summer session, which in its first year had been successfully attended by 182 students, who were enlivened by an unwontedly stimulating series of visiting lecturers), and in late January. The changes called for a midyear commencement in January or February, a decision which threw out of proper sequence the yearly numberings of subsequent commencements. After prolonged discussions with the military, plans were perfected to have the College participate in the Civilian Pilot Training Program, which covered some 100 colleges and on the Hill called for the training of some 40 men over an eight-week period. This was followed in February, 1943, by a 200 man pre-meteorological war training program, under the aegis of the Air Force. So great was the infiltration of the military that by March Cowley described the College as "essentially an army camp with a cream-puff coating of education."

The exigencies of the College called for Cowley to seek additional government programs because of an over-supply of physicists and mathematicians on the faculty. In July, 200 young men were stationed on the Hill for quick instruction in German or French under the Language and Area A.S.T.P. program. The enrollment picture in July, 1943, left only 75 civilian students in regular courses, 350 premeteorological students under the Air Force, 200 men in the language program, and 50 civilian pilot trainees. The normal total enrollment had jumped to approximately 870. The disruption of the pattern was complete. Women, often the wives of the faculty members, appeared as teachers; the

fraternities were taken over; the campus was a camp.

In 1943, the year of three commencements, the problems besetting the College and the president became worse. The imperatives of the war effort and the needs of the armed services made the survival of any given small college of minor national moment. With a shift in military priorities, the need for pre-meteorological and language training groups lessened, and it looked as if these relatively short-term programs would terminate, with no replacements for them. Moreover, even though the population of the campus was at an all-time high, the institution profited little in any material way. The contracts with the military, unlike the ones made between industry and the government, were on a cost rather than a cost-plus basis. There were fewer civilian students and income from the endowment was not large enough to carry the load diminished by the fall in civilian tuition fees. So desperate did the over-all picture look that it was suggested that the College might do well to become coeducational for the duration of the war.

In addition to these problems, there were further internal troubles between the faculty and the president. In November, 1943, Cowley, pushed to the limits of his endurance, spoke of the "serious criticisms directed at me and my management of the affairs of the college by both members of the faculty and the Board which make it necessary for me to give large chunks of my time to Indian fighting."6 A measure of this opposition may be gained from his opponents' expressed opinion that Cowley "ran the college in the interest of his own prestige and career rather than in the interests of the college." A paralyzing impasse arrived. To break it, influential members of the Board proposed the appointment of a committee on post-war planning to be made up of five members of the Board and five faculty members, the latter to be elected by the faculty. Cowley, who had taken a month's holiday to get some rest, returned immediately and protested the arrangement. In a compromise, he agreed to a committee of the same size, but with the faculty members appointed by the president, coupled with a policy committee of the Board itself which would meet with him every two

weeks. The joint committee provided a channel through which the faculty could legally approach the Board without first consulting the president. In making his appointments to the committee, Cowley took care to name a majority of men holding views antagonistic to his.

For a time, a modus vivendi seemed to have been reached. In February, 1944, the Board "expressed its appreciation of the work that President Cowley has done for the college and reaffirmed its desire that he continue as president," and at the same time "expected that hearty cooperation will be forthcoming from all who have the welfare of Hamilton College at heart." The lull was temporary: in April, Cowley was granted a four months' leave to rest and to work on a book sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation. In his absence Comptroller Rudd was to be acting president. Later in the year, Cowley resigned a position which had become quite untenable, leaving behind him a community so riven that only time and such charity as operates on a college campus could bind it together. Despite the merits of his proposals and his yeoman's service in promoting alumni interest in the College, he had moved forward too fast, too comprehensively, and with too little regard for tradition.

The "Rust" of Isolation

The first laws governing the behavior of Hamilton undergraduates, as promulgated by the Board of Trustees in 1812 and published the following year in Utica by Ira Merrell, were extremely detailed and on their face incredibly draconian. Although they were termed by the Trustees "few and general," they covered every possible contingency and called for penalties ranging from monetary fines of eight cents to expulsion, rustication, suspension, or admonition. In Chapter VII of the Laws, the most lurid of all and entitled "Of Crimes and Misdemeanors," it was specified that there should be no assaulting, wounding or striking of the president, or a professor, or tutor, or maliciously breaking their windows or doors. Fighting, striking, quarreling, challenging, turbulent words and behavior, fraud, lying and defamation, and such crimes were prohibited. The undergraduates were in addition forbidden to break open doors, pick locks, blaspheme, rob, fornicate, steal, forge, or duel.

Such regulations were unrealistically detailed and can only have reflected an almost complete lack of understanding and sympathy for young people on the part of the governing body. While it is safe to believe that none of the paternalistic gentlemen who framed them thought for a moment that any of their charges would live up to most of the crimes they were forbidden to perform, yet the very citing of them must have laid down standards of misbehavior tempting indeed to the boys.

There was in truth a wide gap between theory and fact. The normal transgressions of young men were punished on their demerits and the more heinous crimes were not committed. That the responsibility for discipline was divided between Board and faculty, with the lines of demarcation not clearly drawn for many years, merely complicated the situation and gave the students more elbow room in which to operate.

The history of student life during the nineteenth century was filled with pranks which today seem rambunctious in the extreme. But the outbreaks were perhaps inevitable, resulting from conditions imposed on the students partly by the Trustees, partly by the faculty and more particularly by the environment. Until very late in the century, there was no official or organized effort to provide outlets for the animal spirits of the teen-agers and young men who entered the College to receive a classical and Christian education.

The College was unnaturally isolated. For those youths who came from any distance, the Hill was reached only after a jouncing trip by stagecoach or private carriage over bumpy plank roads. Even in 1845 the fastest route to Utica from Buffalo was by red-line packet-boat on the Erie Canal. This journey took two days and two nights, with the barge proceeding at an average speed of four miles an hour. From Utica, Clinton had to be reached by stagecoach. Once in the village there was still the Hill to be climbed, via a country lane, rutted, dusty, muddy, or icy, depending on the season of the year.

Once the campus was gained, the dormitories were not inviting. The students' rooms, ill-heated by fireplaces, inadequately lighted and drafty, were for six months of the year inhospitably chilly. Water for the most sketchy washing and shaving had to be lugged across the yard from the college well. The fastidious undergraduate could bathe in the Oriskany Creek during the summer or at a public bath in the village in winter. Wood for the fires had to be carried from the College woodshed. Other toilet facilities were located to the windward in malodorous outdoor necessaries.

After mid-1813 the boys ate in the Commons under the watchful eye of faculty monitors. Small wonder that the Buttery in the basement of the "Banqueting Hall" was crowded during the few hours that it was open. In it the stu-

dents could purchase or charge—up to \$5—the small beer, cheese, cigars, and other amenities to which the college boy even of that day must have looked forward.

Rising in the dark for many months of the year, confined for long uncomfortable hours to Chapel and classroom, and expected to be in bed at an early hour, left largely to their own devices outside the class hours, and hemmed in by regulations better suited to a reformatory than to a liberal arts college, the students can only be praised for their restraint rather than blamed for their excesses. And in the early years of the College any escape farther than the village from the confines of the College called for a major effort. A semiweekly post-coach ran from Clinton to Utica on Tuesdays and Fridays. This was operated by Lewis Pond who for many years owned the village's only livery stable. There was a line of daily stages running between Utica and Ithaca, but they passed the village green at hours too early or too late to make them practicable. The students, in desperation, often made the journey to Utica on foot.

To the undergraduates their natural enemies were the members of the faculty. Between the two groups there was little common ground except in the classroom. The close supervision of the boys that was demanded of the professors did little to ease the tension. Even a minor transgression of the rules, such as attending the village church without permission for a choir rehearsal for a junior exhibition, was punished by the imposition of a fine of one "shad scale" (a silver coin worth six and a quarter cents). The degree of antagonism varied with the personality of the professor. If he were susceptible to ragging, the boys would take advantage of him to the limit of his endurance. The indignities to which a weak-willed instructor might be exposed varied from being locked out of his classroom to having his privy upended.

Rivalry between classes, particularly between freshmen and sophomores, started early and continued well into the twentieth century. Then as later, it was deemed necessary for the freshmen to learn from the second-year men their inferior station in society. There seems to have been little hazing of the undignified kind which became prevalent later. But as early as 1812, the upperclassmen had devised what they termed a "Tongee theater," for which they wrote a play. The sole point of the performance was that a solitary member of the freshman class should be cast in a role in which he was shot and killed. The climax was reached when the "corpse" was dragged off stage, feet in the air and head on the ground, along a floor purposefully begrimed.

The organized rows between classes at the entrance to the Chapel were later developments. Scuffles were more likely to begin on the Hill itself where each class came to be responsible for laying and maintaining a section of the plank walk which ran down to its foot. It was no uncommon thing for one class to raid the plank supply of another.

In the exuberance of ending their first year's work and escaping from their class ignominy, it became customary for the freshmen to "ring off the rust" from the college bell, clanging it throughout the night. The accomplishment of this task was opposed physically by the sophomores and by the faculty who on occasion found themselves occupying the lower floors of the Chapel, with the freshmen handy to the bell in the steeple which could be reached and escaped from by the lightning conductor. If through the moral suasion of the faculty, or by the contrivings of the sophomores, the freshmen could be prevented from disturbing the peace in this way, they were doomed to be known as "Rusty" sophomores for their entire second year. Such was the fate of the unhappy class of 1846. Members of the preceding class, led by Joseph Roswell Hawley, later Governor of Connecticut and United States Senator, hypnotized the bell-ringer and stole the bell itself, hiding it securely underneath a pile of field stones. Its location was revealed only after commencement.

In their dormitories, despite the regulations calling for quietness, the boys made life miserable at night for their fellows and for the unfortunate tutors who roomed in the same buildings. From the piles of firewood waiting to be burned in the fireplaces, enterprising souls would select the heaviest of the two-foot logs and roll them one after the

other down the wooden stairs with a noise resembling thunder.

Despite the rudeness of their surroundings, the students did not eschew all gentler social activities. The College had been open for barely two months when Zephaniah Platt, Class of 1815, together with Rufus Cossit, Class of 1818, organized a Hamilton College Ball to be held on Thursday, January 14, 1813, in the assembly room of Abraham W. Sedgwick's inn in the village at five o'clock in the afternoon. On January 4 their invitations went out, tastefully printed on silk, to the young ladies of the vicinity.

In the early days, as later, the great occasion of the year was commencement. The first class, that of 1814, consisting of only two members, had to forgo the ceremony. But the following class, with six graduating members, was determined to place before the audience in the village church an entertainment more diverting than their own six obligatory speeches. They were inspired by the example of the superseded academy which had highlighted its commencements with dramatic performances which included The Merry Wives of Windsor and The Taming of the Shrew among other Shakespearean works. The faculty was less than enthusiastic about the idea, but compromised by allowing such a performance if a member of the class would write the play. This was done, although the author is not now known and the text has gone. With the expedition of Captain William Eaton to the Barbary Coast to release American prisoners from the Mediterranean pirates as a background, a dialogue entitled The Capture of Derne was evolved and given in colorful costume. The play lasted for nearly two hours and delighted the audience.

The Class of 1817, holding its commencement on September 17, had a program which was more typical of the early years. It was a prolonged occasion, held in the village church, before a packed audience of friends and visitors. Following a brief private rehearsal of the parts to be played by the president and the class, a small military band, imported from Cooperstown, escorted the procession from Foot's tavern around the village green to the church door. The program

read:

- 1. Distribution of Schemes.
- 2. Sacred Music.
- 3. Prayer.
- 4. Salutatory Oration in Latin.
- 5. A Dissertation on the Influences of the Arts and Sciences on National Character.
- 6. A Dispute on the question, "Is Luxury Beneficial?" [by two members of the graduating class].
- 7. A Dissertation on American Genius.
- 8. An Oration on the folly of representing the present life as a state of misery.
- 9. Sacred Music.
- 10. A Dispute on the question, "Will mankind again return to a state of barbarism?" [again by two students].
- 11. An Oration on Moral Sensibility.
- 12. Valedictory Oration.
- 13. The Conferring of Degrees.
- 14. Sacred Music.

The long climax to the academic year was followed by class dinners, concerts, and a little later, by meetings of the alumni, most of whom did not have to travel far distances for the occasion.

There was a running dispute for many years between students and faculty over whether the bands and orchestras hired for the occasion should play secular music in the church. But every petition for either military or orchestral music at the actual ceremony was denied. For several years the commencement music was entrusted to Mr. Rollo, a singing teacher from Homer, New York. At first he was accompanied by his daughter Philomena, who afterward became prominent in New York music circles as Mrs. Benson. Her place in Clinton was taken by Rollo's second daughter Fanny. He was aided by the church choir, augmented by voices from other churches, and further supplemented by an orchestra of violins and cellos from Utica and by the flute played by Albert Gridley of Clinton.

The other great annual celebration was the Junior Exhibition. This was the livelier occasion of the two, for the members of the class entertained their public with dialogues and "played plays," generally of a comical nature. Christmas Day, in those years, was barely treated as a holiday, and received less attention than the Fourth of July, when some of the less inhibited students escaped to Cary's tavern on the old "Genesee Road" to the north of the campus, or traveled to Utica to join the celebrations.

The students, most of whom owned only pinched purses, dressed plainly, although from time to time there flared up fads in style. The Class of 1818, for example, was known for their flowing locks and broad "Byron collars." To modern eyes the undergraduates of that era seemed older and more mature than their twentieth-century counterparts.

Sporadically, through the first decades of the century, there cropped up religious revivals, usually under the urgings of visiting preachers and evangelists. In such periods, discipline improved as the students, so many of whom were intending to enter the ministry, forwent their pranks and turned to the church. The first such demonstration worthy of note occurred in 1820, at a time when there was much bad feeling between the town in Clinton and the gown on the Hill. For the duration of the revival the clashes died down.

In a period before the invention of the alarm clock, the daily life of the students was governed to a much greater degree than today by the ringing of the college bell. For well over a century it was rung by students who lived in rooms on the third floor of the Chapel or in the tower, and who received remissions of their fees for their hourly labors. In the morning, it rang for two minutes and tolled for three to rouse the boys, who then faced a two-hour delay filled by chapel and a recitation period before they could sit down to breakfast. To still the bell's clapper by stealing it, or by turning it upside down and filling it with water, which in winter quickly became ice, was to disrupt the schedule for the day. Great were the lengths to which the students stretched their imaginations and their efforts to achieve this

desirable end. Their drive to avoid their studies was perhaps greater then than it was in later generations.

On one memorable occasion, an undergraduate, the son of a clergyman who was also a Trustee of the College, purchased lengths of bed-cord, and with it tied tight the door of every room in each building. Then he went to the Chapel, and compelled the bell-ringer to give up his keys. The prankster ascended the belfry, cut the bell-rope and, descending, locked each door behind him, ending by hiding the keys. Nothing stirred the following morning: no rising bell, no chapel, no prayers, no recitations.

In comparison with the explosion of the cannon in Hamilton Hall in 1824, the other escapades of the undergraduates were relatively mild in nature. If, on occasion, the boys filled their classrooms with newly mown hay, and stole the stoves and the blackboards, there was temporary irritation on the part of the faculty, long-lived memories of the event among the students involved, and an extra load of work for Terry O'Brien, the College's factotum, and his successor, Peter Blake. The introduction of cows into the bedrooms of the tutors was considered a rare treat. When the Class of 1842 herded 120 sheep and 15 mules into the chapel, arranging the mules in order on the stage, with the animal possessing the longest ears and gravest face in the center, and the sheep forming the audience, the gratification of the students knew no bounds. To string the presidential long johns from the highest branches of the trees or to hoist his carriage to the roof of a dormitory was not unusual. But when the depredations reached to the firing of local farmers' haystacks, the students tiptoed about in fear of discovery.

The multipurpose Chapel was not sacrosanct from student turmoil. Its hall and entrance were the scene of noisy demonstrations and turbulent class affrays. The faculty could count itself lucky if it suffered no worse indignity than that visited upon President Davis. Just before chapel service one day, pranksters substituted for the Bible in the "bear box" a copy of the Edinburgh encyclopedia, hoping thereby to throw the president off his stride. He with the utmost aplomb recited a chapter from the Testament, from memory, ignoring

completely the secular volume before him.

The period was also dotted with class bolts, student strikes against the tedium of their classwork. The best known of these was the Trenton Falls bolt in 1848 when the junior class was imbued with the understandable urge to get away. They started off, without permission, to visit Trenton Falls, always a favorite goal for the undergraduates. In the resulting period of settlement and negotiation, students, faculty and parents became inextricably involved, and President North was put to much correspondence in explaining matters to irate fathers.

With the closing of the Buttery in 1817, it was not so easy for the students to get snacks to carry them through the long evening hours after supper. Half a mile north of the campus, just beyond the ravine on the now Campus Road, stood Austin's, where cigars and light refreshments could be procured. A little later the main off-campus store was just across the Hill road, west of the old inn which is now the Root Art Center. No alcoholic drinks were served but there was coffee and tea, mince pies and sausages, apples and peanuts. The stock also included clay pipes and tobacco, cigars, quills, paper, ink and second-hand books.

When the students felt the need for more substantial meals, there were raids upon the barnyards of neighboring farmers and of the faculty members. The midnight feasts of stolen turkey and chicken were regularly noted in the reminiscences of the nineteenth century alumni. In 1849, Horatio Buttrick, at the time superintendent of the grounds, included in his bill to the College an item for "I lean Fat Turkey . . . taken from me by students."

In 1820 the Commons was closed and the undergraduates were forced to board at various houses near the campus or down the Hill. In the late twenties and early thirties, meals were provided at the homes of William Aldrich, Deacon Isaac Williams, Asa Marvin, Col. William Johnson, and with Professor Josiah Noyes. At the foot of the Hill Mrs. Elizabeth Lucas and Dr. Sewall Hopkins took in boarders. At this time not many students ate in the village: the few who did dined with Mrs. Hickox, whose husband was postmaster, or at

Foot's tavern. The uniform charge was \$1.25 a week, although the \$1.50 bill at Foot's entitled the richer student to two courses and a dessert at dinner.

Ten years later the picture was much the same. The cost of board had remained low. Mrs. Cadwell, living across the road to the east of North College where the Minor Auditorium will stand, fed a number of students for nine York shillings a week. Here one could not quite maintain life on a dollar a week; but \$1.25 was ample. This particular ménage was operated by the students themselves who periodically elected a steward from their number. He received his board in exchange for his services.

In the same period, one Quinn, a farmer living a mile north along the same road, furnished board, also without lodging, for seventy-five cents a week. He nourished some sixteen students, who were treated to veal steaks for breakfast six days a week, veal roast for dinner and veal hash on Sundays. The wealthier students, eating in more comfortable homes, had to pay anywhere from \$2.50 to \$3.00 a week.

The groups of students living at the various homes established clubs and conducted their affairs with considerable formality. The seriousness with which they took themselves was shown by an incident at one such club, the Pioneer, in March, 1839. A member of this group, William R. Downs, of the Class of 1842, outraged his fellows by his untoward behavior. According to a contemporary diary:

after he had finished his supper, [he] stepped into his chair, and then across the table, whilst nearly all the boarders were yet at the table. Indignant at this act of ungentlemanly behavior, some of the members reprimanded him for it, at which reprimand he fell into a passion, and not only justified himself but even defied the company.¹

The incident resulted in a number of meetings to decide what should be done with the recalcitrant member. Four days later:

The business respecting Mr. W. R. Downs came up before

the club today at the dinner table at his own suggestion. He acknowledged that in walking over the table he acted inconsiderately & improperly, but with respect to his defiance of the club, and the spirit of self justification which he has ever since manifested, he was entirely silent. . . . Still we concluded to overlook and let it pass, without further notice, hoping that this may not soon be forgotten; but that it may be sanctifyed to his eternal welfare and the honour of God.

Drinking did not seem to have been a problem of major proportions among the undergraduates, although there were incidents leading to admonition and even expulsion. On occasion Hamilton men made spectacles of themselves in neighboring communities, to the dismay of the College's supporters. In 1852 a complaint was registered by an alumnus living a few miles from the Hill in Knox Corners:

I am truly pained to learn that some of the students of our College are conducting in such a manner that we are suffering much in reputation. Some have visited our public House and have also been to Stockbridge & Deansville drinking & carousing. Their conduct exceeds that of any other class in rowdyism. If Nothing can be done to prevent it, I think we had much better open our terms & agencies in looking after the Morals of these students we have than to be soliciting aid to enlarge our borders. . . .²

The Temperance Society of Hamilton College was founded on March 9, 1831, and to it most of the students belonged. It wisely did not advocate teetotalism but rather extracted a pledge which was a "sort of half-way covenant" between abstinence and excess.

There was no organized athletic program. For their diversion and exercise, the students threw snowballs in winter, at each other and, in periods of less restrained exuberance, with the dormitory windows their main targets. They skated, slid down the Hill and took sleigh rides to neighboring villages. During the summer months, long walks were popular,

and swimming in the bathing pool in the Oriskany, southeast of College Hill. They pitched quoits and played scratch games of an early version of baseball with the balls made of old stockings stuffed into leather cases made by the village cobbler. Even in the forties, the diversions were not much more sophisticated: rudimentary football had arrived, but the students of the period reminisced most about sawing and splitting wood, pitching quoits and swinging a scythe. The basic exercise, however, for this entire period was walking up and down the Hill.

"How's the Hill?"

From the day when a committee of the Regents visiting Clinton spoke of the Hamilton-Oneida Academy as being located on the top of a "local mountain," the Hill has bulked large in college folklore and conversation. Until the coming of the automobile, only slow horse-drawn carriages could lighten its long hard drag. For half a century the climb promoted corporem sanam, saving the College authorities from the necessity of supplying an organized athletic program.

Going downhill-in wintertime-was simple. In the nineteenth century, when undergraduates boarded in the village or later lived in down-the-hill fraternity houses, sledding was the fashion. It was more than a sport; it was a convenience in getting from the campus to the boardinghouses at meal times. The road from the foot of the Hill to the Oriskany Creek was lined with dozens of high iron-runnered sleds standing upright in the snow beside the sidewalks. When the uphill supply of sleds had gravitated to the bottom, the pea-green freshmen were expected to drag them back. For the most part the sleds were the property of the fraternity crowds, each of which had its own fleet with its own insignia painted on each. The vehicles were constructed by the local blacksmiths. A typical specimen was owned by President Stryker who named it "Sybil." This now rests in the Science Building museum. It weighs nearly sixty pounds, has a seating space about four feet long and seventeen inches wide, rises just a foot above the runners, and is large enough to hold three coasters. Although some of the fraternity sleds were as large, most of these seated two students.

Up until 1926, when it was paved with its present rattling

concrete, the Hill was climbed by a dirt road which would have made an excellent coasting surface save that at intervals of every four or five rods there were flat areas where farmers could rest their teams when hauling heavy loads up the hill. Every wagon and bobsled was equipped with a dropbar which could be let down to hold the load while the horses rested. In the winter these flat spots would lift coasters into the air for a distance of ten or twelve feet, and then they would come down with a crashing jolt. These thankyou-mams forced most coasters to use the sidewalks which were cluttered only with pedestrians rather than by farmers' teams and sleighs.

Early in the nineteenth century the sidewalk was covered with boards from the top to the bottom of the Hill. Later, however, it was boarded only from a point twenty yards or so above the arbor to the foot. At the arbor curve and at the curve below, 2 by 4 scantlings were nailed to the inside of the walk. Coasters would catch their sled runners on these boards and use them to guide the sled around the unbanked curves in safety. The coasters wore heavy hunters' boots that laced up to the knee, the soles being studded with hobnails or cleats. Such equipment was indispensable to safe sledding, for the steering was done by putting pressure on one heel or the other, depending on the direction the sled was to take. If a sudden stop became necessary, the steersman would place his feet flat on the course and pull up on the horns of the sled so that the rear ends of the runners would dig in.

Since the two 90-degree curves on the Hill were not banked, no great speeds could be maintained. But one student coasting alone could attain a speed of 40 mph and three men on a sled could reach a velocity of over 50 mph. A three-man crew could cover the seven-tenths of a mile from the lower entrance to the campus to the Oriskany bridge in about 50 seconds.

Accidents were not uncommon and varied from brushburns to fractures. Three accidents were fatal.¹ On November 26, 1855, Charles Merrill Ferrin, '57, was steering a threeman sled over a fast course. In front of the first house down the Hill a runner caught on the head of a nail in the wooden

sidewalk and threw the sled off course. Ferrin's mates were stunned and he sustained a skull fracture and a broken thigh bone. He was carried unconscious into the then Anderson house, which at the time was also a boardinghouse. He lay there in a coma for a week before dying.

On December 8, 1882, a freshman named Winslow Clark Candee, '86, was coasting alone and was thrown from his sled in front of the Delta Phi House, then the presidential mansion. He suffered a skull fracture. President Darling carried him into the house where he died early in the morning of December 9.

The third fatality occurred as late as 1916, when on December 17, James Edwin Manion, '18, also coasting alone, ran into a tree on the lower curve and lacerated his thigh muscles. Septic poisoning resulted from his injury and he died a week later, on December 24.

Nine years earlier, on February 23, 1907, there occurred a nearly fatal accident. Clarence Morton Trippe, '07, was sliding on the Hill with a guest when he struck a tree on the lower slope and fractured his thigh bone just above the knee. The bones did not heal and the leg had to be amputated. Trippe was not discharged finally from the hospital until February, 1908, after twenty operations that resulted in the loss of almost his entire leg. The faculty, believing that he would not survive, granted his degree in June, 1957. He, however, went on to attend the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City and became a practicing and consulting psychiatrist.

For many years the college myth persisted that the stone arbor halfway down the Hill was erected as a memorial to John Newton Beach, Jr., '94, who supposedly lost his life on the Hill in a coasting accident. The arbor erected on the site of an earlier wooden structure which served generations of students as a resting place, was indeed a memorial to Beach, but he had died of a heart attack in the summer of his junior year while he was away from college.

History and Now

While the Board was searching for a successor to President Cowley, it turned to Thomas Brown Rudd to direct the affairs of the College as acting president. This interregnum lasted until February, 1945, when the youthful David Worcester, still an officer in the navy at the date of his selection, became the twelfth president.

Worcester was born in 1907 and attended Harvard College before taking his A.B. at Hobart College. He returned to Harvard to take his advanced degrees, and after a turn of tutoring on the Harvard faculty, became chairman of the English department at Michigan State College. He entered the navy during World War II and gained a reputation for his work in the area of anti-submarine warfare.

His task at Hamilton was to steer the College through the difficult shoals of postwar adjustment, to heal the wounds of the preceding administrations and to cope with the College's share of education-hungry veterans who, combined with the larger numbers of regular students, made it necessary to consider increasing the size of the College by some fifty per cent. The change called for additional faculty and that in turn called for additional faculty housing, which was acquired in the village. To house the married veterans, a new phenomenon, the frail and unsightly North Village was temporarily established, not to disappear finally until early 1962.

Before Worcester had full opportunity to formulate more than tentative postwar programs, he became ill, and was forced to take a leave of absence. Rudd again resumed the direction of the College. Worcester recovered sufficiently to return to his desk in February, 1947, but within the month

was incapacitated again and resigned the position on June 13, 1947. Seven days later he died. In his brief tenure, the size of the College had grown to nearly 600, one hundred more than the Board considered an optimum size. The faculty, also depleted by the war, had been doubled.

To take President Worcester's place, the Board again turned to Thomas Brown Rudd, who was now to be president rather than acting president until a man could be found to fill the position on a long-term basis. After a decade dominated by World War II, internal strife and the resulting indecisions, the College needed to ease its hurts and gain a new sense of direction and continuity of purpose.

The man the Board named after a prolonged search was Robert Ward McEwen, who was elected on October 9, 1948, and took office without fanfare on February 2, 1949. The fourteenth president, a Minnesotan of Scotch descent, the son of a Presbyterian minister and himself ordained, had been a professor of religious history and philosophy. He came to the Hill from the presidency of the small Blackburn College, Carlinville, Illinois. In a decade he was to complete the building program inaugurated under President Stryker and to sharpen the College's reputation for academic excellence established under President Ferry.

The task of the new president was made lighter by a reorganization of administrative responsibility. McEwen's predecessor remained as comptroller, with the position redefined to lift from McEwen's desk many of the administrative and financial problems involved in the operation of the College's plant and endowment.

Advances were necessary and indeed overdue in nearly all aspects of the life of the College. And in the ten or twelve years following, many were achieved. The curricular reforms which the faculty had initiated earlier were brought to viable conclusion. They were aimed at raising the academic standards of the undergraduates and at the same time at integrating a balanced diet of studies with the stimulus of independent work.

Educational experiments, unwonted in so conservative a college, were initiated. A junior year in France, under the

terms of which sacred Hamilton credits could be granted to students of both sexes from other colleges, began in 1957. A major study of the possibilities of the programed learning concept was financed by the Ford Foundation to the extent of \$200,000. The natural sciences were strengthened and the faculty began experimenting with the increasing government-sponsored programs of summer research. The general tightening of academic standards within the course structure was made easier by the pressure of a large student population in the nation. It now became feasible to demand increasingly high performances from would-be matriculants.

Pressure to increase the size of the College marched with the trend toward higher standards. Intramural faculty assessments, combined with outside surveys of existing plant facilities, pointed to a thirty per cent increase in the size of the student body. This new goal of approximately 800 students was accomplished without undue strain and without sacrificing quality among the undergraduates.

Amid a national clamor over the sustenance of the academic animal, the state of the faculty received the attention long due it. Over the decade the number of instructors was increased, and salaries raised, either by direct payment or by fringe benefits in the fields of housing, insurance and the like.

The sinews for these gains were provided by intensified fund drives, starting in 1950 and renewed twelve years later, each sparked by Clark H. Minor, '02, and Chairman of the Board of Trustees since 1956. Added to the general largesse spread by the Ford Foundation in 1956 was the growing financial response made each year by the still comparatively small body of alumni.

Not until the end of the period did the new buildings to house the additional undergraduates and faculty appear. To house the increased freshman class, which was to number as many men as had constituted the whole College fifty years before, a new dormitory was constructed on the site of the old soccer field, named after George H. Dunham, '97. The oversized U-shaped structure served to hold the freshmen together as a class during their first year, necessitating additions to the Commons and a revamping of the bases of the

fraternity system. In 1958 the Root Art Center was made available under lease to augment an esthetic aspect of the College that had not previously been given due weight. The old mansion that had housed the early presidents was made into an alumni house to provide the returning alumni with a focal point for their activities. When Thomas Brown Rudd died in 1958, an infirmary was erected in his memory to fill a need that had existed for years.

In a long overdue tribute to Samuel Kirkland, Middle Dormitory was renovated, through the generosity of descendants of Harlow E. Bundy, '77, and renamed Kirkland Hall. Therein were located students' rooms, faculty offices and a major classroom.

The old Perry H. Smith Hall, so long the library and latterly the College Infirmary, was gutted to contain the auditorium which Melancthon Woolsey Stryker had demanded in the heyday of his expansive era—this the gift of the Chairman of the Trustees.

As Hamilton College celebrated its 150th anniversary, there appeared on the Hill, in the perspective of the College's development, a spirit of the attainment of ends long sought, coupled with the nagging realization of the further, always unattainable, goals implied in the College's demand to "Know thyself."

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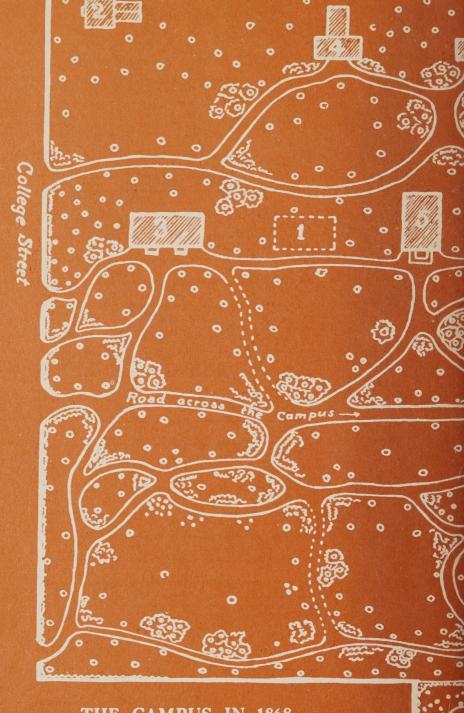
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THE CAMPUS IN 1868 From a Map by Professor Oren Root, Sr.

- 1. Site of Hamilton Oneida Academy, 1793-1832.
- 2. Boarding House (Old President's House), 1802.
- 3. South College, 1812.
- 4. Cabinet (Old Commons), 1812.



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